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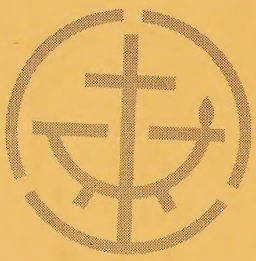

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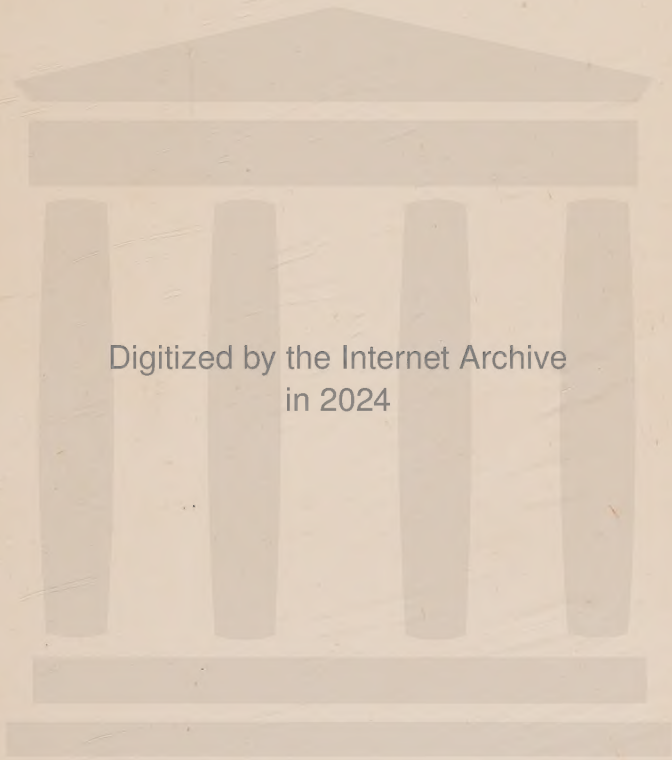
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FREE LOVE AND ITS VOTARIES.

NO
YES
BUREAU DE L'ENREGISTREMENT

FREE LOVE

AND

ITS VOTARIES;

OR,

AMERICAN SOCIALISM UNMASKED.

BEING AN

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

VARIOUS FREE LOVE ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES,

AND OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR

VICIOUS TEACHINGS UPON AMERICAN SOCIETY.

By Dr. JOHN B. ELLIS,

AUTHOR OF "THE SIGHTS AND SECRETS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL," ETC., ETC.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."
HAMLET.

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TO

THE ADVOCATES

OF

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE,

AS TAUGHT

BY

The Universal Church

FOR MORE THAN EIGHTEEN CENTURIES,

THIS BOOK

IS DEDICATED.

330682

PREFACE.

For more than thirty years the attention of the American people has been directed toward the strange and abominable doctrines and practices of the Mormon sect, and all lovers of morality have, with one accord, been outspoken in its denunciation. But while attention has been generally directed toward this particular form of vice, another and a more dangerous evil has sprung up and has been silently growing in our very midst, unnoticed by those whose duty it was to crush it in the bud; or, if noticed at all, merely laughed at as a harmless vagary. Encouraged in this way, the evil principle of Free Love has spread with marvellous rapidity, until it has manifested itself in almost every class of society. It has not only drawn men and women into organized associations, but has lowered the moral tone of society to an extent which is truly alarming. We see its workings in the looseness of public sentiment on questions of morality; in the infamous facilities for divorce which are increasing in our land; in the light esteem

in which the marriage tie is held; and in the efforts to abolish the marriage relation. The evil has spread to such an alarming extent, that it is time some measures were taken to check it. Our people have been too careless of the danger which threatens their dearest and most sacred relations; and it is time to be in readiness to resist it.

In all ages there have been those who have sought to break down the restraints of society and secure an unrestricted range for their base desires; but it was reserved for the present boasted age of civilization to witness an organized and systematic effort of this kind. It is in vain that the people engaged in it seek to disguise it under different names. Whether they be Oneida Communists, Individual Sovereigns, Berlin Heights Free Lovers, Spiritualists, Advocates of Woman Suffrage, or Friends of Free Divorce, we find them all united for the accomplishment of one object—the total destruction of the marriage relation. They all admit that marriage is the great obstacle in their path to the accomplishment of their desires. Marriage is based upon religion and purity. With both of these they are at war.

It was suggested to the writer, during the past winter, that much good might be done by a work which should expose to the public the real character

of the advocates of Free Love—which general term is here applied to all the enemies of marriage, since there are but two alternatives offered to the world: marriage, or Free Love—and the true consequences of their teachings. The present volume is the result of this suggestion. It is issued in the cause of morality and virtue. Its aim is to call the attention of the public to the dangers with which society is threatened by the Free-Love doctrines of the present day, and by presenting a plain and truthful statement of the case, to awaken the public indignation and alarm to such a degree, that persons of all shades of opinion shall feel the necessity of taking some decisive steps to check this evil, before it is too late. No remedy is suggested here. The object of this book is to draw the attention of the public to this dangerous "Social Evil." This accomplished, it will be easy to devise remedies.

This book is not designed as an attack upon any one. The attack has been made upon society and morality by the Free-Love party. We simply defend an assailed cause. Our assailants have their newspapers, their magazines, and other publications, in which they wage a constant warfare against society. Doctrines the most abominable and practices the most degrading are advocated and urged upon the public. Writers of standing have touched upon the

subject, but only to invest it with a mysterious and romantic attractiveness, which has aided the evil cause more than it has benefitted morality. Noyes and his associates boast of their success. He tells us that the vile practices of the Oneida Community have found thousands of imitators in the *families* of this country. All over the land we hear the rallying-cry of these wretches, "Marriage is doomed!" The warfare which they carry on is sharp and constant, and thus far nothing has been done by the friends of morality to meet the assault.

To attempt to meet it by dry, stale arguments, is useless. We must meet our foes on their own ground and fight them there. It is believed by the writer that there is no better way of doing this than by a plain statement of the doctrines and practices of the Free-Love party, and by showing the actual condition of affairs in the Communities controlled by them. There can be no more effective argument in favor of morality than a plain showing of the unrestricted and untrammelled workings of Free Love in the midst of its votaries. If it be true, as the leader of this party asserts—and we have abundant evidence that he does not exaggerate—that thousands of persons in social life have adopted the principles and practices advocated by him, we can do them no greater service than to strip the veil from their hide-

ous prophet, and show them what a foul blot upon our civilization is the institution over which he presides.

This book is not a work of fiction, but a simple record of terrible facts. We offer to the reader only that which he will recognize as true. We desire to show him that questions which have appeared to him hitherto as simply amusing, are real dangers. Every citizen has a duty to perform in this matter, and we have endeavored, in these pages, to furnish him with the means of acquiring such knowledge in the premises as will lead him to an intelligent and prompt performance of that duty.

J. B. E.

August 20*th*, 1870.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF PERFECTIONISM.

The Great Revival of 1831.—Originates nearly all the "Isms" of the Present Day.—Noyes on the Effect of Revivals.—Religious and Sexual Passions near Akin to each other.—Outbreak in Western New York.—Sinless Beings.—Establishment of the Perfect Church.—General Convention of the Saints.—Miss Anti-Marriage and her Teachings.—The Doctrine of "Spiritual Wives."—Stone's Vision of the Day of Judgment.—Attack upon Christian Marriage.—Spiritual Bridals.—Miss Anti-Marriage takes a Partner.—Trouble among the Women.—Jarvis Rider proves False to his First Love.—The Massachusetts Saints.—Mary Lincoln and her Friends.—Queer Doings among the Saints.—Dangerous Endearments.—Opinions of the Outside World.—Trying to Kill the Sense of Shame.—Anxious for Martyrdom.—Arrival of John Humphrey Noyes at Brimfield.—His Strange Doctrine.—Its Effect upon the People.—The Kingdom of Heaven already Come.—Noyes the Lion of the Hour.—His Influence upon the Women.—Danger.—The "Thorn in the Flesh."—The Apostle at Bay.—A Night Struggle.—Noyes Wins a Great Victory.—The Sudden Resolve.—The Midnight Flight.—The Apostle Triumphs over the Flesh.—The Sequel.—Mad Act of Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown.—They are Caught in their Pastor's Bed-Chamber in the Dead of the Night.—Excitements in Brimfield.—Opinion of Noyes.—Religious Maniacs.—Fleeing from the Wrath to Come.—A Night in the Mountains.—The Result.—Mary Lincoln's Letter to John H. Noyes.—She Marries the Rev. Chauncey Dutton.—Maria Brown keeps her First Estate.—Rev. Jarvis Rider Seduces Mrs. Chapman.—Thomas Chapman's Revenge, and its Consequences.—Death of Mrs. Chapman.—Result of the Perfect Movement upon its Preachers.—All Fail to Accomplish any thing, save one Man.....PAGE 29

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTLE OF FREE LOVE.

Birth of John H. Noyes.—His Early Life.—Religious Melancholy.—Studies Law.—Is Converted during the Great Revival of 1831.—Studies for the University.—A Student at Andover.—Licensed by the New Haven Association.—Peculiar Religious Views.—Invents a New Theory as to the Coming of Christ.—Is Deprived of his License by the Church.—His First Converts.—Abigail Mervin declares the New Faith unfit for a Pure Woman.—A Glance at Noyes' Doctrines.—Their Effect upon the Apostle.—Sinning, yet Sinless.—Proclamation of the Doctrine of "Free Love."—A Startling Revelation.—The "Battle-Axe Letter."—The Magna-Charta of American Socialism.—Real Meaning of the Document.—Noyes Removes to Putney, Vermont.—His Bible-Class.—He Commences to Teach them Immorality.—His Means of Government.—The Law of Sympathy.—Lack of Money.—Critical State of Affairs.—Noyes' Opposition to Marriage Involves him in a Dilemma.—His Resolve.—Letter to Miss Harriet A. Holton.—The Strongest Love-Letter ever Written.—Noyes Declares his Intention not to Regard the Marriage Vow.—A Free-Love Courtship.—Harriet Accepts.—Marriage of Noyes and Miss Holton.—The Bride's Fortune Expended in Founding a Free-Love Establishment.—The Putney Bible-Family.—Life at Putney.—Licentiousness of the Disciples.—Noyes enforces Discipline.—Indignation of the Public.—The Bible-Family regarded as Living in Open Indecency.—Attacks of the Gentiles.—Troubles of the Saints.—Putney becomes "Too Hot to Hold Them."—A Removal Necessary.—A Home Purchased in Madison County, New York.—Removal to Oneida.—Establishment of the Oneida Community.—Arrival of Recruits.—Changes in the Mode of Life.—Noyes Commands his Disciples to Enjoy themselves.—Free Love and Licentiousness practically Inaugurated.....PAGE 55

CHAPTER III.

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

From New York to Oneida.—A Night on the Hudson.—Ride over the New York Central Railroad.—Oneida.—A Flourishing Village.—Ride Across the Country.—A Visit to the Oneida Community.—First Sight of a Saint in Bloomers.—The Reception-Room and its Appointments.—The Visitors' Register.—Brother Allen.—A Busy Little Saint.—A Courteous Guide.—The Community Mansion.—Inspired Architecture.—The Cellars.—How the Edifice is Heated.—A Model Kitchen.—Inspired Cooking.—Meal-Ticket System.—The Library.—A "Perfect" Collection.—Brother Pitt.—The Museum.—The Family Hall.—Amateur Musicians.—Inspired Theatricals.—The Family Meetings.—Scenes in the Hall.—The Private Apartments.—The

Upper Sitting-Room.—The Bed-Chambers.—The Old Mansion.—The Dining-Hall.—How the Saints Fare.—The Community Wine.—How the Day is Divided.—Saintly Waiters and Dumb Waiters.....PAGE 81

CHAPTER IV.

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

The Laundry.—Admirable Arrangements.—Washing-Day has no Terrors for the Saints.—The Saw-Mill.—The Seminary.—The Lecture-Room.—The Class in Chemistry.—Dr. Noyes.—Schools for the Children.—The Community Store.—The Trade with the Outside World.—Inspired Tailors and Boot-Makers.—The Counting-Room.—The Female Book-Keepers.—A New Department of Holiness.—Brother Allen and the Black-Eyed Book-Keeper.—A Plump Saint in Short Skirts and Breeches.—View from the Tower.—The "Heritage of the Saints."—The Farm.—Perfect Agriculture.—Statistics of Farm and Orchard Produce.—The Stables.—Fine Horses a Result of Holiness.—New Arrangements.—The Midland Railway brings the Saints into direct Communication with the World.....PAGE 99

CHAPTER V.

THE WILLOW PLACE BRANCH.

The Manufacturing Department.—How Travelling-Satchels are Made.—Value of the Business.—The Willow Place Community.—A Branch Paradise.—The Rotation System.—The Machine-Shops.—Sewell Newhouse, the Canadian Trapper.—Becomes a Saint and Invents a "Perfect" Trap.—Success of the Invention.—Rapid Sale of the Oneida Trap.—It becomes the Chief Source of the Wealth of the Community.—Statistics of Trap-Making.—Causes of the Financial Prosperity of the Community.—The Silk-Works.—The Oneida Machine-Twist.—Success of the Business.—How Silk-Twist is made.—The Work-rooms.—Gentile Employés.—Contrast between the Village Girls and Female Saints.—The Dyeing and Finishing Departments.—The Ribbon Works.—The Foundry.—Value of the Manufacturing Interests of the Community.—Noyes' Theory of Success in Coöperative Experiments.—The Printing Department.....PAGE 106

CHAPTER VI.

THE WALLINGFORD BRANCH.

The Village of Wallingford.—The Community Farm.—The Buildings.—A Change Contemplated.—Internal Arrangements.—The Community Printing-Office.—Statistics of the Business.—Character of the Work.—Female Compositors.—Reasons for Success.—The Silk-Works.—The Employés.—Superiority

of the Village Girls.—Quinnipiac River.—A Bathing Scene.—Males and Females enjoy the Sport together.—A Shameless Group.—A Sudden Interruption.—The Community Farm.—A Lovely View.—Excellent System of Agriculture.—The Vineyard.—Contrast between the Place and its Occupants.—Mr. Jocelyn.—System of Constant Visiting kept up between the Oneida and Wallingford Communities.—Reasons for it.....PAGE 114

CHAPTER VII.

FINANCIAL HISTORY.

Pecuniary Success of the Saints.—Mr. Noyes' Account of the Financial Operations of the Oneida Community.—Products of the various Branches of Industry.—Amount of Labor performed by the Members.—Profits of the Establishment.—Early Losses Repaired.—Statement of Earnings.—Estimate of the Amount necessary to Support and Clothe each Saint.—Amount and Character of Food Consumed.—Interesting Statistics.....PAGE 123

CHAPTER VIII.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION.

A Miniature World Upside Down.—The Pentecostal Method.—No Personal Possessions allowed here.—The Property Register and its Uses.—True Character of the Establishment.—Not a Stock Company.—No Dividends.—What is done with the Profits.—Business Organization.—The Business Board and its Duties.—Who are Members of it.—How it Controls the Community.—Real Character of the Establishment.—Meetings of the Board.—Power without Responsibility.—An Ingenious Device.—Arrangement of Labor.—The Organizing Committee.—The Standing Committee and its Duties.—John H. Noyes the real Head of the Community.—His Tact and Skill in Management.—Labor not Compulsory, but Idleness Punished with Expulsion.—The Variety System.—"Jack of All Trades and Master of None."—Views of *The Circular* upon the System.—Experience of Constance Noyes.—Satisfaction of the Saints with their System.—A Formal Showing of the Benefits of Communism.—What its Disciples Claim for it.....PAGE 129

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNWRITTEN CODE.

A Despotic and Cruel System.—The Principle of Sympathy and its Uses.—Criticism.—A Refinement of Mental Torture.—How the System Operates.—Petty Jealousies.—How Criticism is Directed against Obstinate Saints.—An Aid to Free Love.—A Case in Point.—The Confession of Sydney Jocelyn.—

His Tact.—How to Take Criticism.—A Specimen of Free-Love Poetry.—A Test of Moral Courage.—A Cruel and Vindictive Torment.—It is Dreaded by the Saints.—The real Object of Criticism.—A Novel Use for it.—It Cures old Mr. Cragin of a Bad Cold.—A Queer Statement by an old Free Lover.....PAGE 140

CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

Perfectionism.—What it is.—Claim of the Oneida Saints to a Religious Foundation.—Sketch of Noyes' Doctrines.—The Second Coming of Christ has already Taken Place.—Its Character Spiritual rather than Physical.—A State of Perfect Holiness open to every Believer.—Man Saved by his own Faith.—Blasphemous Doctrines.—A Sham Religion.—No Need of a Mediator at the Community.—Strange Ideas of God.—Heaven declared to be Governed on the Free-Love Plan.—Religion and Morality Outraged by the Saints.—Filthiness Opposed to True Christianity.—Statement of the Religious Tenets of the Community.....PAGE 149

CHAPTER XI.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Marriage Abolished, and a System of Licentiousness called "Complex Marriage" Introduced.—How a Woman can have One Hundred Husbands, and a Man an Equal Number of Wives.—Arguments of Noyes against Marriage.—Marriage held to be Selfish and Sinful.—Lustfulness declared Holy and Liberal.—Blasphemous Declarations.—Noyes' Theory of Love.—He Thinks the Heart can Love any Number of Persons at the Same Time.—Selfishness Banished from the Community.—Men and Women the Common Property of Each Other, and must Love all Alike.—The True Character of Free Love.—It is Founded in Licentiousness.—Father Noyes' Definition of Free Love.—He Claims to Uphold Marriage, yet Advocates Immorality.—A Bad Showing by the Apostle of Filth.—An Impudent and Weak Document. 162

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIAL MYSTERIES.

Difficulty of Laying the Case properly before the Reader.—Marriage being Abolished, Promiscuous Intercourse of the Sexes becomes the Rule at the Community.—The Total Abolition of Female Virtue the Result of Free Love.—Quarrels of the Saints.—Merely Men and Women, and very Imperfect Specimens at that.—A Gross Misrepresentation of the Truth.—Universal Prostitution required of Every One.—The Women have really no such Pro-

tection as Noyes Claims for them.—Selfishness not Allowed.—How the Principle of Sympathy Works.—Practical Illustrations.—Members Criticised into Submission.—No Exclusive Affection Allowed.—Women cannot have a Single Lover.—The Rotation System.—What it Means.—The Doctrine of Ascending Fellowship.—Its True Meaning.—Nature Outraged.—Old Men make a Business of Seducing the Young Girls.—Immoral Old Women.—A Frightful State of Affairs.—Unnatural Unions of Youth and Age.—Terrible and Startling Revelations.—Sad Fate of the Young Members of the Community.—Condemning Children to Vice.—Noyes' Libertine Theories.—How the Children are Initiated into the Mysteries of Free Love.—Female Purity Outraged by the Saints.—Acquiring Self-Control.—Disgusting Practices of the Saints.—Incest.—A Father Living in open Adultery with his own Daughter.—The Community Sanction the Crime.—How Courtships are Managed at the Community.—The Rule of Assigning Partners a Dead Letter.—The Fruits of Licentiousness.—Liberal Ideas.—Brick Pomeroy's Opinion of the System.—Candid Confessions of the Saints.—A Filthy and Degraded Set.—"No One has any Right to Complain."—A Queer Use to put a Mother to.....PAGE 174

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

The Oneida Community Founded in Lust.—Free Love necessitates Unnatural Practices.—Noyes' Theory of the Sexual Relation.—Blasphemous Views concerning it.—He Claims that it is a Religious Duty to be an Adulterer.—His Doctrine of Male Continence.—What it is.—A Scientific View of the Case.—It is a Filthy, Degrading, and Unhealthy Practice.—Effects of Male Continence in the World.—How Physicians regard the Practice.—Views of Dr. Bergeret.—Startling Facts.—A Case in Point.—Noyes' Statements not True.—They are Opposed by Science and Religion.—Moral View of the Case.—Its Effects upon Individuals and upon Society.—Confessions of the Saints.—The Oneida Community and its Practices Condemned by Reason, by Science, and by the Law of the Land.—A Vast Brothel.....PAGE 193

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

Position of Woman in the Community.—Claims of the Saints.—No "Ladies" in the Community.—The Short Dress.—What the Saints Think of it.—Appearance of the Women.—They are Coarse, Unrefined, Unhealthy-Looking, and Vulgar.—Effects of "Male Continence."—True Position of these Women.—The System of Complex Marriage Denied by the Civil Law and by Religion.—Wives, yet not Married.—Immoral from Choice.—These Women

are Prostitutes, and Live in a state of Adultery with their Male Companions.—No Modest Women in the Community.—Virtue at a Discount.—Absence of Shame.—Filthy Conversations.—Reasons why the Women cannot Leave the Place.—How the World regards them.—They are utterly Lost to Virtue.—The Oneida Community Women Tried by Solomon's Standard.—A Frightful Condition of Affairs.—Women Sunk in Degradation.—The Duty of every Honest Man to Denounce the Free-Love System....PAGE 208

CHAPTER XV.

THE JUVENILE SAINTS.

The Children of the Community.—How the Little Ones are Cared for.—The Mother's Duties.—The Children's Department.—Out-Door Life.—"The Children's Hour."—Scene in the Upper Sitting-Room.—"The Evening Talk" with the Children.—Physical Developments.—Statements of Dr. Noyes.—Intellectual Developments.—Statements of Alfred Barron and Portia M. Underhill.—Vital Statistics.—What these Statements are Worth.—The Saints Claim that their Children are Superior to those Born in Lawful Marriage.—This is not True.—Stirpiculture Inaugurated.—Scientific Breeding.—Noyes on Sterility.—A Ridiculous Defence.—True State of the Case.—Sad Fate in store for the Children.—They are destined to Lives of Licentiousness.—A System of Soul-Murder.....PAGE 221

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS.

Views of the Saints as to Intellectual Development.—The Community Schools.—The Primary Department.—An Embryo College.—System of Studies Pursued.—The Professors.—Order of Recitations.—Necessity for Education in any Community.—Intellectual Condition of the Saints.—The Majority below the Average Standard.—Learning and Refinement really Foreign to such a State of Affairs.—What will be the Result of Education, honestly given, upon this System of Filthy Abominations?.....PAGE 238

CHAPTER XVII.

ADMISSIONS.

Applications for Admission.—Character of Applicants.—Inducements Offered.—The Saints not Anxious to Increase their Numbers.—Statement of *The Circular*.—A Chance for a Good-Looking Female.—Always Easy to Find a Vacancy for Her.—What is Required of Novices.—Admission into Full Fellowship.—Duties of the Members.—Separation from the World, Entire Devotion to the Community, Relinquishment of all Personal Property,

Belief in and Public Acceptance of Noyes' Blasphemous Religious Doctrines, and a Total Surrender of the Person to the Abominations of Free Love, required of every Member.....PAGE 244

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

Publications of the Oneida Community.—The "History of American Socialisms."—"The Trapper's Guide."—"Salvation from Sin."—"The Handbook of the Oneida Community."—"Male Continence Explained."—*The Circular.*—Terms of Publication.....PAGE 249

CHAPTER XIX.

LEADING FREE LOVERS.

Social Character of the Saints.—Sketches of John H. Noyes, George Cragin, Sr., James Hamilton, Dr. T. R. Noyes, Dr. George E. Cragin, Sewell Newhouse, H. G. Allen, Mr. Jocelyn, Mr. Burt, John H. and C. Cragin, Frank W. Smith, J. W. Norton, George W. Noyes, J. J. Steiner, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Bolls, Mrs. J. H. Noyes, Mrs. H. K. Skinner, Sister Jocelyn, the poetess, Miss C. A. Macknett, Charlotte M. Leonard, Harriet M. Worden, Augusta E. Hamilton, &c.—Specimens of Free-Love Poetry.—Personal Appearance of the Saints.—Very Low Physical and Intellectual Standard.....PAGE 258

CHAPTER XX.

THE STORY OF TWO LIVES.

Early History of George and Mary Cragin.—A Susceptible Youth and a Prudish Maiden.—The Descendant of the Puritans.—The Pretty Missionary.—First Meeting of George and Mary.—A Pious Courtship.—Marriage of the Lovers.—Wedded Life.—Mary becomes Perfect.—Trouble Ensues.—In the World.—George Adopts his Wife's Faith.—A Lovely Saint.—Persecution.—Abram C. Smith.—The Sheep in Wolf's Clothing.—Mary takes a New Step in Perfectionism.—The Removal to Rondout Creek.—Life at Rondout.—The Tempter at Work.—George Cragin is Content with his Lot.—He Learns the Doctrine of Renunciation.—Mary takes Several Lessons in Perfectionism.—The Rev. Abram C. Smith puts a Hook in George Cragin's Nose.—The Tempter at Work.—Smith Wishes to Exchange Wives with Cragin.—The Selfish Spirit.—Mr. Smith Turns his Wife Out of Doors, and Teaches Mary Cragin the Doctrine of Spiritual Love.—Indignation of the Villagers.—Plot to Tar and Feather Smith and Cragin.—Arrival of John H. Noyes.—He Restores Peace.—Heavenly Bridals.—Mrs. Cragin Accompanies Smith to New York.—A Complaisant Husband.—George Visits New York,

and Learns from the Saints that his Wife has been Seduced by Smith.—A Model for Husbands.—Result of Mary Cragin's Perfectionism.—She and her Husband become Brother and Sister.—Conflict.—How George treated the Destroyer of his Peace.—George "Argues the Point" with Smith, and gives him the Kiss of Peace.—Parting of Mary from her Spiritual Husband. —George and Mary find Peace.—They Take the Final Step in Perfectionism, become Free Lovers, and Enter the Oneida Community.—Death of Mary Cragin.....PAGE 267

CHAPTER XXI.

RETROSPECTIVE.

A Glance Backward.—Motive in Writing.—The Saints at War with Religion and Society.—They are the Attacking Party.—This Book a Reply to them.—A Plain Statement.—Summary of Facts Established.—How the Saints Conduct their War upon Society.—The Cry of "Persecution."—How *The Circular* is Used.—Its Success.—Specimen Articles from *The Circular*.—Attack upon Marriage.—"Let there be Light."—"Who shall Judge?"—How Converts are Made.—The Object of the Saints.—Noyes' Pamphlet.—"Male Continence Explained."—How it is Circulated.—A Vile Trick—"The History of American Socialisms."—The Duty of Society to Break Up the Free-Love Organization.—The True State of the Case.—Action of the People of Madison County.—Demand for the Suppression of the Oneida Community..... 331

CHAPTER XXII.

BERLIN HEIGHTS.

Position of the Village.—Lake Erie.—Magnificent Prospect.—Reputation of the Village.—Story of an Old Citizen.—Arrival of Reformers.—The First Free Love Colony.—A New Experiment Organizing.—First Efforts at Berlin Heights.—Early Disadvantages.—Alarm of the Villagers.—Abominable Doctrines Advocated.—Marriage Dispensed with.—Evil Rumors.—Imprudent Course of the Free Lovers.—Suspicious Indications.—Action of the Villagers.—The Newspaper War.—Tactics of the Free Lovers.—Their Success.—The First Indignation Meeting.—Its Failure.—Exultation of the Free Lovers.—The *Social Revolutionist*.—An Outrageous Publication.—Indignation of the Villagers.—The Second Indignation Meeting.—Division of Sentiment.—The Free Lovers are Requested to Leave the Place.—They Refuse.—Demand for Mob Law.—Arrest of the Leaders of the Free-Love Party.—Their Trial.—Defeat of the Villagers.—Mob Violence Inaugurated. —Attack on Frank Barry.—Destruction of his Documents.—Effects of this Outrage.—The Political Canvass.—The Election of the Free-Love Ticket.—

The "Eden Group."—Strange Rumors.—Adventure of a Man in Search of a Lost Cow.—A Picture of Eden Innocence.—The Secret Out.—General Indignation.—Action of the Villagers.—The Free Lovers Refuse to Withdraw.—Dr. Overton's Reply.—Settlement of the Matter.—Failure of Berlin Heights as a Free-Love Colony.—Departure of the Leaders.—The Sequel.....PAGE 353

CHAPTER XXIII.

MODERN TIMES.

Josiah Warren and his Scheme of Equitable Commerce.—The Settlement of Modern Times.—The Time Store and its Operations.—A Failure.—Enunciation of the Principle of Individual Sovereignty.—A Remarkable State of Society.—Statement by a Resident.—The Individual Sovereigns.—Absolute Freedom, and what it Brought with it.—A Singular Community.—The Story of Miss Smith.—Her Aptitude in Learning the Principles of the Place.—Her Subsequent Experience.—Too Much Individual Sovereignty in the Social Relations.—Remarks of a Veteran Free Lover.—His Views as to Negro Slavery and Marriage Slavery.—All the Old Abolitionists for Breaking Down Marriage.—The Millennium Coming.—His Ideas of Freedom for Woman.—Present Condition of Sentiment at Modern Times.—Marriage not Insisted upon.—Individual Sovereignty in Practical Operation.—The Beauty of Charity.—How Disagreeable Persons are Gotten Rid of.—Not a Religious Community.—No Use for Churches.—A Specimen Reformer.—What it must Come to at Modern Times.....PAGE 381

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SPIRITUALIST BRANCH.

Spiritualism a Dangerous Element of Free Love.—Origin of the Doctrine in this Country.—Swedenborg's Doctrines made Public by the Brook Farm Reformers.—Professor Bush's Career.—A. J. Davis.—His Defection from Bush.—Sets up as an Independent Prophet.—Puts his Faith into Practice.—Finds his Affinity.—Views respecting Marriage.—Views of Dr. T. L. Nichols.—Views of Mrs. J. S. Gilhams.—Views of *The Universe*.—Views of George B. Smith.—Proposition for a Limited Marriage.—Views of Sarah B. Strudwick.—Confession of Chas. C. Carpenter.—Spiritualism Aids and Encourages Free Love.—How the Doctrine of Natural Affinities is Carried into Practice.—Confession of J. W. Towler.—A Case in Point.—A Boston Merchant Deserts his Family for his Affinity.—The Spiritualists Endorse his Course.—Pernicious Effects of Spiritualism upon Society.—Duty of Christian Men and Women.....PAGE 405

CHAPTER XXV.

FREE LOVE IN SOCIETY.

Effects of the Teachings of Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright.—Statement by an English Writer.—The Strong-Minded Woman in her Glory.—How Impure Women seek to Justify themselves.—A Peculiar Feature of American Society.—The Woman who Thinks for Herself, and Scorns the Control of Society.—A Free-Love Wedding.—Irregular Unions Endorsed by the Law.—A Specimen Free-Love Poem.....PAGE 429

CHAPTER XXVI.

FREE DIVORCE.

The Effort to Break Down Marriage.—By Whom it is Made.—Views of Christian Communities respecting Marriage.—Fidelity the Test in Law and Religion.—True Meaning of Free Love.—Marriage Ceases to be regarded as a Permanent Institution.—Position of the States of the Union with regard to Divorce.—The Divorce Laws of Indiana.—Astounding Looseness.—Position of the Religious Denominations of the Country respecting Divorce.—An Unbroken Front.—Looseness of Clergymen.—They do not Regard their Ministerial Obligations.—The McFarland-Richardson Case.—Charge of Recorder Hackett.—Remarks in the Woman-Suffrage Convention.—The Violation of the Law Applauded.—Views of *The Independent*.—Exultation of the Free Lovers.—Declaration of J. H. Noyes.—Statement by Mr. Greeley.—Terrible Looseness.—How an Eastern Merchant Got Rid of an Old Wife and Took a New One in a Single Day.—Statement of the *Chicago Times*.—Divorce Market of Chicago.—Statistics of President Woolsey.—Comments of the *Baltimore Sun*.—The Divorce-Ring of New York.—How Divorces are Obtained.—Lawyers of the Divorce-Ring.—Working up a Case.—What such Divorces are Worth.—The Referee System.—Systematic Perjury.—Statements of the New York *World* and *Herald*.—Illustrations.—The Rich Son and his Victim.—A Father's Justice and its Sequel.—How a Husband was Victimized, and Robbed of his Wife.—A Divorce Gained by Perjury.—Retribution.—A Chicago Suit and a Righteous Judge.—A Washingtonian seeks to Cast off his Wife because he is Tired of Her, and Wishes to Marry her Sister.—A Novel Use of Divorce.—Public Opinion Corrupt.—A Proposition for Limited Marriage.—Declaration of *The Universe*.—Woman Suffrage Necessitates Free Love.—Duty of the Public....PAGE 441

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

FREE LOVE AND ITS VOTARIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF PERFECTIONISM.

The Great Revival of 1831.—Originates nearly all the "Isms" of the Present Day.—Noyes on the Effect of Revivals.—Religious and Sexual Passions near akin to each other.—Outbreak in Western New York.—Sinless Beings.—Establishment of the Perfect Church.—General Convention of the Saints.—Miss Anti-Marriage and her Teachings.—The Doctrine of "Spiritual Wives."—Stone's Vision of the Day of Judgment.—Attack upon Christian Marriage.—Spiritual Bridals.—Miss Anti-Marriage takes a Partner.—Trouble among the Women.—Jarvis Rider proves False to his First Love.—The Massachusetts Saints.—Mary Lincoln and her Friends.—Queer Doings among the Saints.—Dangerous Endearments.—Opinions of the Outside World.—Trying to Kill the Sense of Shame.—Anxious for Martyrdom.—Arrival of John Humphrey Noyes at Brimfield.—His Strange Doctrine.—Its Effect upon the People.—The Kingdom of Heaven already Come.—Noyes the Lion of the Hour.—His Influence upon the Women.—Danger.—The "Thorn in the Flesh."—The Apostle at Bay.—A Night Struggle.—Noyes Wins a Great Victory.—The Sudden Resolve.—The Midnight Flight.—The Apostle Triumphs over the Flesh.—The Sequel.—Mad Act of Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown.—They are Caught in their Pastor's Bed-chamber in the Dead of the Night.—Excitements in Brimfield.—Opinion of Noyes.—Religious Maniacs.—Fleeing from the Wrath to Come.—A Night in the Mountains.—The Result.—Mary Lincoln's Letter to John H. Noyes.—She Marries the Rev. Chauncey Dutton.—Maria Brown keeps her First Estate.—Rev. Jarvis Rider seduces Mrs. Chapman.—Thomas Chapman's Revenge, and its Consequences.—Death of Mrs. Chapman.—Result of the Perfect Movement upon its Preachers.—All fail to accomplish any thing, save one Man.

THE year 1831 will always be memorable in America for the remarkable outbreak of religious

excitement which began in the Northern States of the Union, and swept over the whole country like a whirlwind, leaving its traces particularly upon the New England States and Western New York. That much good sprang from this extraordinary movement, cannot be denied; but it is also true that its chief interest arises from the fact that it witnessed the first growth of the singular religious and social doctrines which have culminated in the establishment of the Free-Love Community at Oneida, in the State of New York. Nay, more than this; we may trace directly to this great excitement, which did not expire with the year which witnessed its outbreak, the major part of the "isms" and social phenomena which have since formed so curious an episode in our history. This, indeed, is confessed by the parties themselves. Elder Frederick, the chief of the Shaker establishment at Mount Lebanon, told a visitor, a few years since, "that every great spiritual revival which has agitated America since his Church was planted, has led to a new society being founded on the principles of Mother Ann. The eighteen unions represent eighteen revivals."*

John Humphrey Noyes, the founder of the *Oneida Community*, makes this singular fact plain in the following declaration:

"It is evident from what we have seen, that revivals breed social revolutions. All the social irregularities reported in the papers followed in the train of revivals; and, so far as I know, all revivals have de-

* Wm. Hepworth Dixon.

veloped tendencies to such irregularities. The philosophy of the matter seems to be this: revivals are theocratic in their very nature; they introduce God into human affairs; the power that is supposed to be present in them is equivalent to inspiration and the power of miracles—that is to say, it is the actual Deity. In the conservative theory of revivals, this power is restricted to the conversion of souls; but in actual experience it goes, or tends to go, into all the affairs of life. Revival preachers and revival converts are necessarily in the incipient stage of a theocratic revolution; they have in their experience the beginning of a life under the higher law; and if they stop at internal religious changes, it is because the influence that converted them is suppressed. And the theocratic tendency, if it goes beyond religion, naturally runs first into some form of socialism. Religious love is a very near neighbor to sexual love, and they always get mixed in the intimacies and social excitements of revivals. The next thing that a man wants after he has found the salvation of his soul, is to find his Eve and his Paradise. Hence these wild experiments and terrible disasters.

"From these facts and these principles, quite opposite conclusions may be drawn by different persons. A worldly-wise man might say they show that revivals are damnable delusions, leading to immorality and the disorganization of society. I should say, they show that revivals, because they are divine, require for their complement a divine organization of society, which all who love revivals and the good of man-

kind should fearlessly seek to discover and inaugurate."

There is much truth in these remarks of Father Noyes. The passions of the human heart are so sympathetic, that, to inflame one, places all the others in danger. This explains the sudden, and, to many, the unaccountable plunging into licentiousness of persons who have been the most powerfully affected at some great revival of religion. The terrible excitement to which they were subjected upon even so holy a subject, has aroused feelings stronger than they—feelings which, until then, had never caused them a moment's uneasiness. Now they have broken forth with fearful power, and have hurried them headlong into the abyss.

But even if this should not be so, if the revivalist should escape this danger, he is no longer the same being that he was before his "awakening." A man cannot subject himself to such overwhelming outbursts of passionate fervor, even in the cause of religion, and remain the same. His entire nature is changed, and this stormy period of his life makes a different being of him.

So it was with the revivalists of Western New York in 1831. Out of the fiery furnace of religious excitement which marked that year, came forth a class of men and women who professed to live by a rule different from that which the rest of the world observed. They claimed that they were ransomed from sin, exempted from the curse of man; that they were *perfect*, and could no longer sin. These people called

themselves "Saints," and were afterwards known as "Perfectionists." The leaders of the new sect were the Rev. Hiram Sheldon, of Delphi, Rev. Jarvis Rider, of De Ruyter, and Rev. Erasmus Stone, of Salina—three popular revival preachers. The members of the new creed, which had not yet been definitively promulgated, were scattered over the western part of New York and throughout the New England States.

During the winter of 1834, a general convention of the Perfectionists in New York met at Manlius, in Onondaga County, for the purpose of effecting a more thorough organization. In some respects the meeting was a success. Many converts were made, a feeling of enthusiasm was aroused, and the new gospel was boldly proclaimed by the three preachers already named. The action of the Saints was open and fearless. "Here they announced their separation from the world. Here they began to debate whether the old marriage-vows would or would not be binding in the new heaven and the new earth. . . . The doctrine openly avowed at Manlius was, that, with the old world which was then passing away, would go all legal bonds and rites; that old ties were about to become loosened, and old associations to end; including those of prince and liege, of cleric and layman, of parent and child, of husband and wife. These old rites were to be replaced by new ones. A kingdom of heaven was at hand; and in that kingdom of heaven every man was to be happy in his choice. And it was not only right, but prudent, to prepare betimes for that higher state of conjugal bliss. The doctrine

taught in the privacy of the love-feast and the prayer-meeting was, that all the arrangements for a life in heaven may be made on earth; that spiritual friendships may be formed, and spiritual bonds contracted, valid for eternity, in the chapel and the camp. Hence it became quickly understood among them, that the things of time were of slight account even in this earthly life, and that the things of heaven were to be considered as all in all. Not that any rule came into vogue which either led, or looked like leading, to a breach of the social law." *

This was the first dawning of the doctrines of the Perfect Church, and embodied more of purity than its later teachings. These doctrines were not reduced to writing, but their adherents proclaimed them everywhere, and shaped their lives in accordance with them; and, it must be acknowledged, at the first their lives were pure, not to say rigid.

Among the converts was a young woman of some ability, of great personal beauty, and of good social position, Lucina Umphreville by name, and a resident of Delphi. Being a woman of strong will, and a most zealous Perfectionist, she at once took a commanding position in the new Church. She was also an ambitious woman, and was not long in making her influence felt. She taught several new articles of faith, which she claimed to have received from heaven in visions of the night and by inspiration, and, amongst other things, undertook to regulate the relation of the sexes upon a new basis. In the kingdom of heaven,

* "Spiritual Wives." By Wm. Hepworth Dixon, pp. 237–238.

she said, there was "neither marriage nor giving in marriage," and the Saints upon earth must live after the same manner. Wedlock and its duties must be done away with, and all carnal love between male and female must be for evermore banished. Women must no longer listen to lovers' vows, and men must cease to seek wives. The churches, in solemnizing fresh marriages, were committing sin; and it was the duty of all who were married to live simply as brother and sister.

As may be supposed, Lucina did not make many converts to this belief among the sterner sex, who wrathfully named her "Miss Anti-Marriage;" but her doctrine became quite popular amongst the women, who began to discard their lovers and abandon all idea of marriage. Many married women endeavored to shape their domestic lives according to the new faith—only, however, to find that such practice bade fair to alienate their husbands' affections from them entirely. The women were timid, hesitating, given to visions; the men became furious and sworn enemies of "Miss Anti-Marriage."

The great weakness of Lucina's teachings was, that she did not forbid men and women to mingle together. She gave considerable freedom to the affections, but required that they should be exercised only in the Lord. "Men and women might be friends, though she could not permit them to become lovers and mistresses. Under Lucina's guidance—for, in these things, Sheldon himself could not fight against her—a sweet and perilous privilege was assumed by

these New York Saints of entering into new and mysterious bonds of the spirit. In this friendship of souls the law was to have no voice, the flesh no share; male and female were to be brother and sister only; they might address each other in sacred terms, and grant to each other the solace of a holy kiss. Beyond these freedoms they were not to go; and even these privileges were to be put aside on any movement in the heart suggesting an unchaste desire. The love was to be wholly pure and free. No law was ever laid down; but it was tacitly agreed among the Saints, that these tender passages of soul with soul were not to be made the subject of idle talk. An air of silence and reserve, if not of secrecy, was thought to befit so solemn an encounter of spirits; and every one was expected to guard in his fellow a right which he was free to exercise for himself." Of course, this new relationship of the sexes, so sweet and strange, must have some distinguishing name; and it was agreed by the Church that it should be known as the relation of the spiritual husband to the spiritual bride.*

In throwing off the old relationships and introducing this new one, Lucina Umphreville had placed her converts in greater danger than she had imagined. If the spiritual partnership was sweet, it was also very perilous. The tender pressure of the hands, the eloquent glance of the eye, and the "holy kiss," which constituted the greeting of the spiritual pair, had too strong a taint of the earth in them to be safe. The flesh was strong even in these "Perfect" Saints, and

* "Spiritual Wives," p. 240.

the sequel proved that it was not always possible to resist it. Indeed, it is a striking commentary upon the new doctrine, that no man found his spiritual bride in his wedded wife, and no woman her spiritual lord in her lawful husband. Each went seeking some other person's temporal partner. This was a little awkward, and might have given Miss Anti-Marriage some trouble, had not the Rev. Erasmus Stone come to her relief.

Stone, indeed, seems to have been the author of the original spiritual-wife doctrine. Lucina only improved upon it. "In the early days of the revival, Stone had seen a vision of the night. A mighty host of men and women filled the sky; a sudden spirit seemed to quicken them; they began to move, to cross each other, and to fly hither and thither. A great pain, an eager want, were written on their faces. Each man appeared to be yearning for some woman, each woman appeared to be moaning for some man. Every one in that mighty host had seemingly lost the thing most precious to his heart. On waking from his slumber, Stone, who had perhaps been reading Plato, told this dream to his disciples in the Salt Works. When his people asked him for the interpretation of his dream, he said that, in the present stage of being, men and women are nearly always wrongly paired in marriage; that his vision was the day of judgment; that the mighty hosts were the risen dead, who had started from the grave as they had been laid down, side by side; that the trouble which had come upon them was the quick discerning of the spirit that

they had not been truly paired on earth; that the violent pain and want upon their faces were the desires of every soul to find its natural mate." *

This seems to have settled the question with the Perfect Church, and thenceforth there was no more doubt about the spiritual-marriage doctrine. Sheldon at once adopted it, and went so far as to attempt to define the tests by which these delicate affinities could be detected in this lower world. Furthermore, he declared that the recognition of this affinity would be continued in the other world. Sheldon and Stone both set an example to their followers in this respect. Stone found his spiritual partner in Eliza Porter, a beautiful and intelligent married woman of Salina; and Sheldon discovered that his legal wife was not his true affinity, and would be happier when released from him, and found his spiritual bride in a young and handsome unmarried woman, Sophia A. Cook by name. The Perfect Church at once recognized and justified these mystical unions, and Lucina Umphreville boldly declared that it was not only right that these two men should have such partners "in the Lord," but that the Rev. Jarvis Rider ought to make a similar provision for himself. Rider at once claimed her as his spiritual wife; and she, true to her faith, accepted him, declaring that she was now in the highest state a woman could reach upon earth. Rider proved unworthy of her confidence, and it would seem that he was not the man to be satisfied with a union purely spiritual.

* "Spiritual Wives," p. 241.

In 1836, an important meeting of the Saints was held at Canaseraga, in Alleghany County, New York. Jarvis Rider was prominent among the leaders, and his spiritual bride, Lucina Umphreville, was the chief female preacher. This singular couple bore public testimony, at this meeting, to the perfect bliss of their union. They claimed to have entered, by means of it, upon a higher and nobler phase of religious experience—in short, to have attained "to the state of the resurrection from the dead." They also declared, at this meeting and elsewhere, that the only basis upon which the companionship between man and woman could be arranged "in the Lord," was that of complete and unswerving chastity. They travelled about through the lake-country preaching this doctrine, and winning many converts. The amount of trouble they caused in families hitherto happy and contented, was very great. In the midst of the general religious awakening which followed, the women nearly drove their husbands mad, and there was scarcely a house in which the relations between husband and wife were not, for the time at least, radically altered.

In the midst of these teachings, the spiritual union existing between Rider and Lucina was suddenly broken up. Rider discovered that his true affinity was not his dear Lucina, but a still more fascinating woman—a married woman at that—a Mrs. Chapman, of Bridgeport, on Oneida Lake. Lucina gave him up promptly, and consoled herself by taking, as her spiritual spouse, the Rev. Charles Lovett, of Massachusetts—one of the most prominent of the New Eng-

land Perfectionists, who was at the time on a mission to the Church in New York.

This New England branch of the Perfect Church had sprung into existence about the same time that the New York branch was organized, and the centre of its operations was the little town of Brimfield, in Hampden County, Massachusetts. The leaders of the movement were the Rev. Simon Lovett and the Rev. Chauncey Dutton; but here, as in New York, the women exercised a powerful influence over the new Church. New England women rarely do things by halves, and these "fair sisters" were no exception to this rule. Two sisters by the name of Annesley, Miss Maria Brown and her sister Abby Brown, and Miss Flavilla Howard, were prominent amongst the Saints; but the chief agitator was a beautiful young girl named Mary Lincoln, the daughter of the principal physician of the place. Dr. Lincoln and his family were Presbyterians, and viewed with great alarm the conversion of Mary to the doctrines of the Perfect Church. Still greater was their dismay, when they found that the young girl was not only a convert, but was becoming the most active and determined propagator of the new faith. In vain the Doctor remonstrated, raged, threatened. Mary had come into a new liberty of the spirit, which made all of her acts proper in her own eyes; and she regarded the opposition of her parents and friends as merely a part of the cross she was called upon to bear. Her courage was of the highest order, and she cared nothing for popular censure, which, indeed, she disarmed, to a consid-

A CROWD OF ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF MEN

erable degree, by her great beauty and her winning ways. She had heard of what Lucina Umphreville had done for the Saints in New York, and she was determined to occupy a similar position in the Church at Brimfield. Of course, the preachers of Perfectionism gladly welcomed such an ally, and were at length brought so completely under the influence of her fascinations, as to be "but wax in her hands." Under her guidance, the younger women of the new Church began a bold and vigorous crusade against "the world, the flesh, and the devil." They gloried in their new liberty, in the love they bore to all who were like themselves. They were not satisfied to fight the world; they desired to provoke it into assailing them. They thought themselves martyrs in secret, and they coveted the crown of open martyrdom. It was not long before they were successful.

"Those who could see into this revival camp," says Hepworth Dixon, upon whose narrative this chapter is based, "unblinded by its passions, were keenly alive to the tendency already visible among its male and female guards to something more than gospel freedom. Friendship in the Lord appeared to have its own set of looks and tones. Much whispering in corners, lonely walks at sundown, and silent recognitions, were in vogue. The brethren used a peculiar idiom, borrowed from the Song of Songs. A tender glance of the eye and a silent pressure of the hands were evidently two among the signs of this free-masonry of souls. All titles were put aside; every man was a brother, every girl was a sister; ex

cept in those higher and nearer cases, in which the speaker seemed to have won the right of using a more personal and endearing name. When the tie between a preacher and a convert had become spiritually close, the word brother passed into Simon, the word sister into Mary. Here and there a more advanced disciple would offer and accept, like the German Mucker, a holy kiss."

To the Saints themselves all this was right and proper, but the world saw in it much evil. Outsiders could not be brought to believe that this intimate association of beautiful and impressible women with men of fire and vigor was altogether spiritual. It seemed to them mixed with a greater amount of unholy than of holy love. Else why these tender kisses —these mysterious signs and grips? In short, the people of Brimfield came to regard the Saints as a very immoral set; and the young women suddenly found that their characters for purity and modesty were utterly gone.

Such a discovery would have been worse than death to them a year or two previous, but now it was joy unspeakable. It was the realization of their dearest wish; for it had been their greatest effort to do something which might ruin them in the eyes of the world, and prove how effectually they had trodden under foot the sense of shame. To kill this sense of shame—to show the world that they had done so—was in their eyes the highest proof they could give of their religious perfection. Had not the early Church called upon its disciples to do as much—to defy the

world, to take up the cross, and despise the shame? And should they hesitate to endure what so many of the blessed martyrs had borne before them? They had boldly declared that, for them, all things were proper, all things were pure, and they felt that they must give some stronger proof of it than they had yet given, and they resolved upon an act which took even their friends by surprise. Their decision was arrived at while the Rev. Chauncey Dutton was away in New York, and while the Rev. Simon Lovett was gone to New Haven. The Rev. Tertius Strong did duty in place of these leaders, but he was not equal to the task of restraining the infatuation of his "beautiful sisters."

Simon Lovett had gone to New Haven to hear from the lips of John Humphrey Noyes, the ablest of all the Perfectionist preachers, the new doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ, which the latter had begun to preach. He reached New Haven a skeptic, but Noyes soon converted him, and the result was, that Lovett brought Noyes back to Brimfield with him, to preach the new doctrine to the Church at that place.

The Massachusetts Saints received the new preacher with evident distrust, but flocked to hear his doctrine. Undaunted by this, Noyes read to them the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, telling them that it must be accepted simply in its literal sense; that there was no metaphor about it, but that the words conveyed their primary and most rigid meaning—nothing more nor less. Christ, he said, had already come the second time, and hence-

forth man must be saved from sin merely by the power of faith. For those who had faith, salvation was complete; they would sin no more, but would be as the angels of God in holiness.

The effect of this bold declaration was electrical. The Saints at once accepted the reasoning of their great preacher, and all but a few became his converts. The most intense excitement prevailed throughout the village. The wonderful story of the new faith was told everywhere. The men were profoundly affected by it, but the women were thrown into a kind of delirium which was as sweet and thrilling as it was dangerous. What mattered to them the opinion of the world? what need they care for the loss of their good names? Were not they saved from sin? Were not they reconciled to God, and incapable of sin?

Noyes was the hero of the hour. He had brought the blessed tidings to the Saints; he had been the chosen one to receive and proclaim the new revelation; and in the eyes of the women by whom he was surrounded, he was something more than mortal, and but a little less than divine. To him they looked for comfort—for that peace of soul for which they longed so ardently. His position was pleasant beyond expression, but he felt that it was dangerous. Maria Brown called him her "beloved," and Mary Lincoln's soul seemed wrapped in his. Surrounded daily and hourly by these bright and beautiful women, hampered by no social restraints in his intercourse with them, Noyes began to taste the dangers as well as the bliss of spiritual love. Maria Brown's soft hands sent thrills of

passion through every fibre, and Mary Lincoln's sweet kisses burned upon his lips with a fire which he felt was not holy. The music of those tender voices, the love which glowed in those unsuspicious eyes, were so many snares for him. Preacher and apostle though he was, Noyes felt that he was but a man, and that he was in danger of falling.

It was in the midst of his triumphs that this feeling came to him, and it filled him with dismay. With the warm pressure of those fair hands still clinging to his, the tender kisses still burning upon his lips, and his whole soul stirred into a tumult by the eloquent glances of those bright eyes, Noyes locked himself in his chamber and fell upon his knees. The flesh was very weak in him, and it was very hard to go away from so delightful a place. All night long he watched and prayed, and sought counsel from God in his sore distress. "At length," he says, "I got a clear view of the situation, and received what I believed to be 'orders to withdraw.'" He lost no time in obeying what he conceived to be the heavenly mandate. Rising at once, he crept from the house. It was the month of February; the snow was on the ground, and the temperature was below zero. The night was dark, and the wind was piercing cold. The humanity of the man shrank from the cheerless scene, but the spirit was strong within him. Striking across the country, on foot, he took a direct line for his father's house in Putney, Vermont. All through the darkness and the bleak day which followed, this man fled with a speed which seems almost marvellous. Hunger,

thirst, cold, fatigue, were unheeded by him. Haggard and wild-eyed, he hurried on. The fire in his brain gave him warmth from the cold; the fear at his heart gave him strength to support the fatigue. Not once did he turn backward; destruction and death lay behind him. He must go forward, through ice and snow, over mountain and dale, across frozen streams and through thorny thickets. At the close of twenty-four hours his long journey came to an end, and he reached his father's house at Putney, Vermont —*sixty miles distant from Brimfield.* He was half dead with fatigue, his feet were blistered and swollen, and his face was cut with the bleak wind. Physically he was prostrated; spiritually he was triumphant. He had made a noble fight for his soul—for the souls of the lovely women whose fanaticism had well-nigh ruined him and them—and he stood now upon the highest moral ground to which he has ever attained. In estimating his character, let us not forget to weigh this act of heroism against his evil deeds.

It was well for Noyes that he fled so promptly; but his disappearance excited no surprise among the Brimfield Saints. They said he had been caught away by the Spirit to do his work elsewhere, and his disappearance only served to heighten the excitement at Brimfield. It did more: it determined Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown to carry out the plan upon which they had already resolved—to do something which should thoroughly convince the world that they had killed the sense of shame. Accordingly, two nights after Noyes left Brimfield, these young

women were caught, in the dead of the night, in the bedchamber of the Rev. Simon B. Lovett. It seems that they had gone to his room and aroused him from his sleep, and had then suffered themselves to be taken in the act. There can be no doubt that, had Noyes remained at Brimfield, their visit would have been made to him; and, with such feelings in him as had caused his flight, the reader may imagine what the consequences would have been. Lovett was not so tempted, and the girls, who really meant no harm, were safe in his hands. Mad as the act was, it seems plain that it was without evil results. Noyes emphatically declares: "I had no reason to believe that any act of real licentiousness took place, but that the 'bundling' was performed as a bold self-sacrifice for the purpose of killing shame and defying public opinion. I confess that I sympathized to some extent with the spirit of the first letters that came to me about this affair, and sought to shelter rather than condemn the young women who appealed to me against the storm of scandal which they had brought upon themselves."

The public were not so well satisfied of the innocence of the parties concerned. The fact that Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown had been caught in their pastor's room in the dead of the night, under very questionable circumstances, together with the suspicions already entertained against the Saints, roused a storm of scandal throughout the township, and the story was told all over New England. Men and women of all shades of opinion were fully convinced

that the young girls and their pastor had been taken in the commission of an act of licentiousness, and refused to believe the declarations of the parties concerned, that they were innocent of harm. "Does religious love," they incredulously asked, "prompt a beautiful woman to visit the bedchamber of her pastor secretly, and under the cover of the night?" The world discussed the affair as a rare bit of religious depravity, and from that hour the two young women had their wish—their characters were forever blasted.

The blow fell very hard upon the family of Mary Lincoln. Her father refused to receive her into his house again, but lodged her with a Mrs. Alice Tarbell —also a Perfectionist—who promised to watch over her. "When it was known that Mary had been sent away from home (cast out, they said, for the sake of Christ), her friends came flocking to her side—Maria Brown, Abby Brown, Flavilla Howard, and many more—who began to praise the Lord, to sing and dance, and kiss each other in a frantic way. Mary told these sisters in the Lord that her father was possessed by a devil; and, when he came to see and talk with her in Mrs. Tarbell's house, she smote him on the face, in order to cast it out. Next day she left her friend Alice and went to another house, with every symptom of insanity upon her. During that day she announced that the town of Brimfield would be burnt with fire, like the cities of the plain, described in the book of Genesis, and that all who would save themselves alive must fly with her to the top of a neighboring hill. Maria Brown would have gone with her

friend, but her sister Abby clung to her and held her back. Mary Lincoln and Flavilla Howard fled alone; and, in their hurry to escape from the fiery hail, they threw off most of their clothes, and pushed through the thick scrub, the heavy snow, and the dismal swamps, to the hill base. There they paused and prayed, when the Lord (as they afterwards said) hearkened to their voice, withheld the fires, and let the judgment pass.

"The poor girls lost their way, and wandered about, they knew not where. Deep in the night they came to a farmhouse, and begged for a shelter from the biting cold. They had thrown away their shoes, and their clothes were torn to rags. Their flesh was all but frozen; and for many days these hapless heroines lay in the log-shanty at the point of death." *

The feeling which impelled these poor girls to their mad acts, is shown in the following letter from Mary Lincoln to John H. Noyes:

"Mount Sion, Eternity.

"My Brother:—Your spirit being the only one in the clay in which mine finds rest, you will not think it strange that I write you so soon again. My soul goes out after some mighty spirit in which it may hide itself a while from the storm. Through the kindness of our Father, many and mighty are my trials just now. The devil never spited me as he now does, for I see his *art*, and fear not to unmask him. I

* "Spiritual Wives."

have seen the Man of Sin revealed in the Perfectionists, in the building up of the Jewish temple, and most manifest where its adorning is most lovely. Is it not so? Has not God laid it even with the dust, and can aught but Satan rebuild it? Has not God pronounced a woe upon it? And shall not we, His children, say *Amen?* I still try the Saints here. They say that I am taking steps that another has not. I know that my steps in the desert are not in the sand; and if the Lord leads me in untrodden paths, I shall go praising the God of Israel, who is my Guide. I feel that He has led me past all but you, for He will not permit me to have fellowship with any other, but strengthens me with communion with the spirits of the air. Yes, my brother, soon God in me will stand in front of the battle. He is mastering my strength by His burning love to war with hell's blackest fury. God has shown me by His wisdom, that, by the artlessness of females, the armies of the aliens would be put to flight, and the victory won. God has chosen weak things to confound the wise. Through Eve the war began; through Eves it is continued; through them it will be closed, and a declaration of eternal independence made to the joy of all who sign it. You see, 'I am for war.' God has armed me in a manner that the world thinks does not become a once timid female; but according to the gift I now receive, I *act.* When it pleases my Father to make me more lovely, I shall be pleased to be so. I feel that His work, through me, will be short and mighty. My spirit is becoming too powerful for its habitation. I

stand almost alone here. Many doubt me, and yet God has given me power over all the Saints. I have as much liberty in meeting, and am as much at home as in my father's kitchen. The last one that I was at, the Lord led me and Sister Maria, and Samuel T., to walk the floor, sing 'Woe, woe to Babylon,' and talk and laugh as much as we had a mind to. It was a trial to some of them, but they could not help themselves. The Lord gave me perfect power over them all in so doing. I told them I should talk all night if the Lord led me to. Most of them are following after; God is leading them into the truth, yet they do not know it. Deacon Tarbell is much blessed; Sister Hannah is very sweet, and Sister Maria is very strong and bold.

"MARY."

Mary Lincoln recovered from her sickness to renew her efforts in behalf of the Perfect Church. She became a convert to the doctrine of spiritual marriages, which the Rev. Erasmus Stone had brought from New York, and began to look around her for her natural mate. She soon discovered him in the Rev. Chauncey Dutton, who promptly accepted her as his spiritual wife. These two travelled about the country, preaching to all who would hear them. People said they lived together in open shame; but they claimed that they went about, like St. Paul and his female companion, to comfort and sustain each other, and that all carnal passions were dead in them. Eventually, however, they were legally married. "They circulated as

spiritual leaders in New York and elsewhere for awhile," says Noyes, "and finally became flaming Millerites. I had a letter of warning from her, dated March, 1843, calling on me to prepare for the end of the world. They both died long ago."

Maria Brown managed to keep herself free from these "spiritual" entanglements. She went to New York, where she sat at the feet of Lucina Umphreville; and, though she fully accepted the doctrine of "spiritual marriages," seems to have been content to forego her chance of finding a partner of this kind.

The Rev. Jarvis Rider, as we have said, after parting from Lucina Umphreville, found his true mate in a married woman—a Mrs. Chapman, of Bridgeport, on Oneida Lake. She was young and pretty, very popular among her friends, and noted for her cordial hospitality. She had been one of the earliest converts to Perfectionism, and her house had always been one of the "headquarters" of the Saints. Upon the arrival of Maria Brown, Mrs. Chapman invited her, together with Lucina Umphreville, and the Rev. Chas. A. Lovett and Rev. Jarvis Rider, to stay at her house. Here it was that Rider discovered the affinity existing between himself and Mrs. Chapman. Aided by Lovett and Lucina, he succeeded in persuading Mrs. Chapman to accept him as her spiritual husband. Lucina at once gave up her own claims to him, and agreed to transfer her spiritual affections to Lovett. People said that Rider took advantage of his spiritual privileges, and the confidence reposed in him by Mrs. Chapman's husband, to seduce that unhappy woman.

Thomas Chapman was away from home at the time, engaged in work upon the Chenango Canal; but so great was his confidence in his wife and in his "Perfect" guests, that he gave himself no uneasiness concerning his domestic affairs, until it was told to him that Rider had taken advantage of his absence to debauch his wife. In great wrath he hurried home, fell upon the saintly destroyer of his peace, beat him into a jelly, and flung him out into the road. People said that he would have served the scoundrel right had he killed him; but, to the intense astonishment of all persons, Chapman's furious rage soon died out, and he not only apologized to Rider for his violence, but brought him back to his house. "How he became reconciled to the preacher of spiritual wifehood," writes Hepworth Dixon, "I cannot pretend to say. Men, who do not seem to me crazy, tell me that Chapman, when he raised his hand against the revival preacher, was stricken blind—not in a mystical and moral sense of the word, but that he really and completely lost his sight. One man tells me that Chapman went to New York to consult an oculist, and did not recover the use of his eyes for many months. In this affliction he begged the reverend gentleman's pardon, called him back into the house, and threw himself on the floor in agonies of shame for having dared to assert his carnal mind in opposition to the will of God. Still, when his eyes were better, he got rid of his saintly guests, left the place of his shame, and separated from his wife. Rider forgot his affinity for the cast-away wife, and, Mrs. Chapman being a woman of

delicate constitution, this strife between her husband in the flesh and her partner in the spirit, put an end to her life."

All these preachers of the new doctrine, save one man, either fell away from it into other vagaries, or failed to accomplish any decisive results by their labors. The one man who achieved any thing like substantial success was the "Apostle" who had fled from Brimfield by night.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTLE OF FREE LOVE.

Birth of John H. Noyes.—His Early Life.—Religious Melancholy.—Studies Law.—Is Converted during the Great Revival of 1831.—Studies for the University.—A Student at Andover.—Licensed by the New Haven Association.—Peculiar Religious Views.—Invents a New Theory as to the Coming of Christ.—Is Deprived of his License by the Church.—His First Converts.—Abigail Mervin declares the New Faith unfit for a Pure Woman.—A Glance at Noyes' Doctrines.—Their Effect upon the Apostle.—Sinning, yet Sinless.—Proclamation of the Doctrine of "Free-Love."—A Startling Revelation.—The "Battle-Axe Letter."—The Magna-Charta of American Socialism.—Real Meaning of the Document.—Noyes Removes to Putney, Vermont.—His Bible-Class.—He Commences to Teach them Immorality.—His Means of Government.—The Law of Sympathy.—Lack of Money.—Critical State of Affairs.—Noyes' Opposition to Marriage Involves him in a Dilemma.—His Resolve.—Letter to Miss Harriet A. Holton.—The Strongest Love-Letter ever Written.—Noyes Declares his Intention not to Regard the Marriage Vow.—A Free-Love Courtship.—Harriet Accepts.—Marriage of Noyes and Miss Holton.—The Bride's Fortune Expended in Founding a Free-Love Establishment.—The Putney Bible-Family.—Life at Putney.—Licentiousness of the Disciples.—Noyes enforces Discipline.—Indignation of the Public.—The Bible-Family regarded as Living in Open Indecency.—Attacks of the Gentiles.—Troubles of the Saints.—Putney becomes "Too Hot to Hold Them."—A Removal Necessary.—A Home Purchased in Madison County, New York.—Removal to Oneida.—Establishment of the Oneida Community.—Arrival of Recruits.—Changes in the Mode of Life.—Noyes Commands his Disciples to Enjoy themselves.—Free Love and Licentiousness practically Inaugurated.

John Humphrey Noyes was born at Brattleboro, Vermont, on the 3d of September, 1811. Vermont having given to the world Joseph Smith, Jr., and

Brigham Young, may therefore be said to be the mother of the two great "modern ideas" of Mormonism and Free Love.

Mr. Noyes comes from the old Puritan stock, his ancestors having settled in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1634. His father was the Hon. John Noyes, a graduate of Dartmouth College, the tutor of Daniel Webster, and a member of Congress. He at first studied for the ministry, but subsequently became a merchant, and a very successful one. He died in 1841, leaving considerable property to his children. His wife, who was a Miss Hayes, of Connecticut, survived him, and died at the Oneida Community in April, 1866, at the age of eighty-six.

John H. Noyes was brought up in his native town and in the neighboring town of Dummerston, until he was ten years old, when he was sent to the Academy at Amherst, Mass., to begin his training for College. In 1826 he entered Dartmouth College, and in 1830, at the age of nineteen, graduated. He then entered the office of his brother-in-law, L. G. Mead, Esq., and began the study of the law. Meanwhile his father's family had removed to Putney, Vermont, and at the end of his first year's studies Noyes paid them a visit, and, while there, became interested in a revival of religion which was going on at that place—a part of the great revival from which sprang the Perfect Church in this country. He became very much troubled about his soul, and, losing all his former cheerfulness, gave himself up to gloom and meditation. In his "Religious Confessions," he says of this

period of his life: "After a painful process of conviction, in which the conquest of my aversion to becoming a minister was one of the critical points, I submitted to God, and obtained spiritual peace. With much joy and zeal I immediately devoted myself to the study of the Scriptures, and to religious testimony in public and private. The year 1831 was distinguished as 'the year of revivals.' New measures, protracted meetings, and New York evangelists, had just entered New England, and the whole spirit of the people was fermenting with religious excitement. The millennium was supposed to be very near. I fully entered into the enthusiasm of the time; and, seeing no reason why backsliding should be expected, or why the revival spirit might not be maintained in its full vigor permanently, I determined with all my inward strength to be 'a young convert,' in zeal and simplicity, forever. My heart was fixed on the millennium, and I resolved to live or die for it. Four weeks after my conversion I went to Andover, and was admitted to the Theological Seminary."

He spent one year at Andover, and then entered the Yale Theological Seminary, from which he graduated. In August, 1833, he was licensed to preach by the New Haven Association. His first labors were at North Salem, New York, as pastor of a small church at that place; but his principal ministerial work was done in New Haven and the towns in the vicinity. While living here, he gave considerable attention to spreading the gospel amongst the negroes. "My heart," he says, in his "Confessions," "was greatly

engaged in this work. At Andover I had become interested in the anti-slavery cause, and, soon after I went to New Haven, I took part, with a few pioneer abolitionists, in the formation of one of the earliest anti-slavery societies in the country."

While living at New Haven, Mr. Noyes embraced an entirely new plan of faith. His peculiar views were ahead of those of the New York and Massachusetts revivalists, already referred to, and have since received the name of Perfectionism. He held that the old order of things had entirely passed away. "Much reading of Paul's epistles led him to believe that the Christian faith, as it appears in the churches of Europe and America, even in those which style themselves Reformed, is a huge historical mistake. There is no visible Church of Christ on earth. The Church of Paul and Peter was the true one—a community of brothers, of equals, of Saints; but it passed away at an early date, our Lord having returned in the spirit, as He had promised, to dwell among His people evermore. On this second advent, Noyes says that our Lord abolished the old law; closing the empire of Adam, cleansing His children from their sin, and setting up His kingdom in the hearts of all who would accept His reign. Noyes fixes this spiritual advent in the year 70, immediately after the fall of Jerusalem; since which date, he says, there have been one true Church and many false Churches bearing His name—a Church of His Saints, men sinless in body and in soul, confessing Him as their Prince, taking upon them a charge of holiness, rejecting law

and usage, and submitting their passions to His will; and Churches of the world, built up in man's art and pride, with thrones and societies, prelates and cardinals and popes; Churches of the screw, the faggot, and the rack, having their forms and oaths, their hatreds and divisions, their anathemas, celibacies, and excommunications. The devil, says Noyes, began his reign on the very same day with Christ; and the official Churches of Greece and Rome, together with their half-reformed brethren in England and America, are the capital provinces of the devil's empire. The kingdoms of the earth are Satan's; yet the Perfect Society, founded by Paul, into which Christ descended as a living Spirit, never quite perished from out of men's hearts, but, by the grace of God, kept an abiding witness for itself, until the time should come for receiving the apostolic faith and practice, not in a corrupted Europe, a worn-out Asia, but in the fresh and green communities of the United States. Some high and vestal natures kept the flame alive."* It was reserved for the young preacher at Yale to be the means of re-establishing this faith and practice.

Previous to adopting these views, and while a student at Andover, Noyes had promised to devote his life to missionary labors. This promise he claims to have fulfilled in teaching the world the new faith. His friends were slow to believe that he was sincere in his new professions, but, once convinced of it, they set their faces sternly against him. His license to preach was taken from him by the Association which

* "New America," by Wm. Hepworth Dixon, p. 396.

had given it, his friends deserted him, and he was universally regarded as a lunatic. Speaking of this, he says: "I had lost my standing in the Church, in the ministry, in the College. My good name in the great world was gone. My friends were fast falling away. I was beginning to be indeed an outcast. Yet I rejoiced and leaped for joy. Some persons asked me if I should continue to preach, now that the clergy had taken away my license. I replied, 'I have taken away their license to sin, and they keep on sinning; so, though they have taken away my license to preach, I shall keep on preaching.'" *

This new doctrine did not fail to find acceptance with many persons. We have already shown with what success Noyes preached it at Brimfield, and how completely it unsettled its converts at that place. The labors of its originator in New Haven were, to a certain extent, successful. People came to him and accepted his teachings, and in a short while he found himself the head of a small band of Perfectionists. But, perfect as these Saints professed to be, they were not free from ambition—that sin by which the angels fell. Among the principal converts were the Rev. James Boyle and Abigail Mervin. Boyle seems to have aspired to be the leader of the new Church, and Abigail desired to become Mrs. Noyes. The prophet, however, was skeptical upon the subject of marriage, and loved power too well to wish to yield it to any man. Consequently these two, his best and most valuable converts, fell away, and at length openly

* "Hand-Book of the Oneida Community," p. 8.

abandoned him, Abigail declaring in high dudgeon that the new religion verged upon indecency, and was not a proper faith for a pure woman.

It was a very sweet and pleasant belief—this new faith—but it had in it an element of weakness as at first preached. Man was perfect; he was no longer in sin. He had no longer the need of a mediator between God and himself. He could save himself by the exercise of faith. Only let him have faith, and his salvation was assured. Only let him have faith, and he would be pure and sinless. Strong in faith, he could not sin—he would be perfect. Being perfect, he would be no longer under the law; he would have no need of a law, human or divine. His only rule would be the grace of God working in his soul, and shaping all his actions, all his impulses, in accordance with the Creator's will. Whatever he did would be pure and holy; he could not sin. Faith would make him perfect; perfection would make him holy; holiness would make him entirely free,—a delightful doctrine to those who could accept it; but a weak one, inasmuch as Noyes' converts, when they had become perfect, holy, and free, refused to acknowledge even his authority, and separated themselves from him, each one becoming a law unto himself. Thus did the prophet send from him his followers merely by the force of his own teachings.

No religious reformer had ever gone so far. Even the Mormons stopped short of this perfect freedom which broke down every law of God and man, and substituted for them the impulses of that human

heart which is "desperately wicked." The effect of his own teachings upon Noyes himself was marked and peculiar. Until now he had led a life of strict morality and purity. He had avoided wine and strong drinks previous to his conversion to holiness, and he now began to drink deeply. Formerly he had been almost a Grahamite in his diet, now he indulged in the most highly-seasoned dishes. He had led a life of chastity and regularity—indeed, we have seen with what mad terror he fled from the temptations which threatened him at Brimfield; now he gave himself up to licentiousness and riotous living. He became a vagabond. He was the companion of courtesans and thieves, and was a regular visitor to houses of ill-fame. Indeed, he completely and entirely changed his life, and it became as vile as it had formerly been pure.

Yet he declares there was no sin in all this; that, being pure in heart and full of faith, his conduct, though seemingly vile, was blameless. Hepworth Dixon, to whom he gave a more complete vindication of his course than he has yet offered to any one else, says: "In defending himself against men who cannot reconcile such a mode of living with the profession of holiness, Noyes asserts that he had given himself up to temptation, but the power in which he trusted for protection had been strong enough to save him. He had drunk, and gorged, and wantoned with the flesh, in order to escape from the bonds of system. As he puts the matter to himself, he said, 'Can I trust God for morality? Can I trust my passions, desires, propensities, every thing within me which has hitherto

been governed by worldly rules and my own volition, to the paramount mercy of God's Spirit?' He answered to himself that he could and would put his faith, his conduct, his salvation, in the keeping of the Holy Ghost; and in this confidence, he says, he walked through the house of sin untouched, as the Hebrew children stood unscathed in the midst of the fire." *

There was no inconsistency between Noyes' profession and his practice. The Perfectionist being free to follow his own impulses—sin being impossible with him—all things are lawful and pure to him. The wonder is, that any man of Noyes' ability should be able to bring himself to believe that it was God's will that he should so debauch and degrade himself, or that it was the Spirit of God which led him into such acts. Mr. Noyes has given many proofs of the sincerity of his belief, but surely this cannot be taken as one of them.

Deserted by his New Haven converts, Noyes went to his father's house in Putney, Vermont, where he remained for some time, meditating upon and endeavoring to perfect his "perfect faith." During this time he came to the conclusion that marriage, as understood and practised by the world, is radically opposed to the doctrine of Perfectionism. The Perfect Saint, being free from all law, must of necessity be free from that of marriage. If it was lawful and pure for John H. Noyes to visit houses of ill-fame and "consort with strange women," it was equally lawful and pure for

* "New America," p. 399.

him to seduce his neighbor's wife. Noyes, however, went further than this, and asserted that no man had a claim upon a woman so strong as to justify him in possessing her to the exclusion of all other men. There being no law for the Saint, no man could complain of an invasion of his marital rights. Consequently there was no longer such an institution as marriage. Perfectionism abolished it.

This bold doctrine, so utterly destructive of all that is good and noble in life, was first proclaimed to the world in a letter addressed to David Harrison, of Meriden, in Connecticut, dated January 15th, 1837. A copy of the letter came into the possession of Theophilus R. Gates, of Philadelphia, the editor of *The Battle-Axe*, who published it in his paper. It is now known as the Battle-Axe Letter, and may be regarded as the fundamental law of socialism in the United States. It is as follows:

"Dear Brother: Though the vision tarry long, wait; it will come. I need not tell you why I have delayed writing so long, and why I am in the same circumstances as when we were together. I thank God that I have the same confidence for you as myself. I have fully discerned the beauty and drank the spirit of Habakkuk's resolution, 'Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.'

Yea, brother, I *will* rejoice in the Lord. Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him. The present winter is doubtless a time of sore tribulation to many. I see the Saints laying off and on like the distressed ships at the entrance of New York harbor, waiting for pilots; and I would advise them all, if I could, to make a bold push, and 'run in' at all events.

"For one, I have passed the Hook; my soul is moored with an anchor sure and steadfast—the anchor of hope; and I am willing to do what I can as a pilot to others. Yea, I will lay down my life for the brethren.

"As necessity is the mother of invention, so it is the mother of faith. I therefore rejoice in the necessity which will ere long work full confidence in God—such confidence as will permit Him to save His people in a way they have not known! In the meantime, my faith is growing exceedingly. I know that the things of which we communed at New Haven will be accomplished. Of the times and seasons I know nothing. During my residence at Newark, my mind and heart were greatly enlarged. I had full leisure to investigate the prophecies, and came to many conclusions of like importance to those which interested us at New Haven. The substance of all is, that God is about to set a throne on His footstool, and heaven and earth—*i. e.*, all spiritual and political dynasties—will flee away from the face of Him that shall sit thereon. The righteous will be separated from the wicked by the opening of the books and the testimony of the Saints. 'The house of Jacob

shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble. . . . *Saviours* shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the *Lord's;*' Obadiah xviii. 21. Between this present time and the establishment of God's kingdom over the earth lies a chaos of confusion, tribulation, woe, &c., such as must attend the destruction of the *fashion of this world*, and the introduction of the will of God as it is done in heaven.

"For the present, a long race and a hard warfare is before the Saints—*i. e.*, an opportunity and demand for faith, one of the most precious commodities of heaven. Only let us lay fast hold of the hope of our calling; let us set the Lord and His glory always before our face, and we shall not be moved. I thank God that you have fully known my manner of life, faith, purpose, afflictions, &c., to the end that you may rest in the day of trouble; for I say to you before God, that, though I be weak in Christ, I know I shall live by the power of God toward you and all Saints. I am holden up by the strength that is needed to sustain not my weight only, but the weight of all who shall come after me. I will write all that is in my heart on one delicate subject, and you may judge for yourself whether it is expedient to show this letter to others. When the will of God is done on earth as it is in heaven, there will be no marriage. The marriage-supper of the Lamb is a feast at which every dish is free to every guest. Exclusiveness, jealousy, quarrelling, have no place there, for the same

reason as that which forbids the guests at a thanksgiving-dinner to claim each his separate dish, and quarrel with the rest for his rights. In a holy community there is no more reason why sexual intercourse should be restrained by law, than why eating and drinking should be; and there is as little occasion for shame in the one case as in the other. God has placed a wall of partition between the male and female during the apostasy for good reasons, which will be broken down in the resurrection for equally good reasons; but woe to him who abolishes the law of apostasy before he stands in the holiness of the resurrection. The guests of the marriage-supper may have each his favorite dish, each a dish of his own procuring, and without the jealousy of exclusiveness. I call a certain woman my wife; she is yours; she is Christ's; and in Him she is the bride of all Saints. She is dear in the hands of a stranger, and according to my promise to her I rejoice. My claim upon her cuts directly across the marriage covenant of this world, and God knows the end. Write, if you wish to hear from me.

"Yours in the Lord,

"JOHN H. NOYES."

Thus was the doctrine of Perfectionism established and proclaimed to the world.

There was another result of this doctrine to which Mr. Noyes now began to give his attention. This was the abolition of personal property. The breaking down of all law involved, of course, the loss of

all individual rights. The rule must henceforth be a community of goods, and Noyes was resolved that such converts as he should gather around him in future should submit to it.

The desertion of his friends in New Haven did not discourage him, and, after his settlement at Putney, Vermont, he began his labors afresh. He gathered together a small Bible-class, composed of the simple village folk, and began to teach them his new doctrine. They were not learned, and were very humble in position, but they were composed of the material of which Noyes desired that his future converts should be made. They had that deep-rooted love for novelty in religion so peculiar to New England, as well as the tenacity of opinion and firmness of purpose for which that section is distinguished. They were persons who would not shake off the spiritual yoke he designed imposing upon them; and as he took them in their fresh and verdant state, he felt sure of shaping them according to his own will. Nor was he disappointed. Intellectually he was their superior, and they readily acknowledged his supremacy. His course was slow and gradual, his purpose being to convert his Bible-class into what he called a Bible-Family.

Past experience had taught him that perfect freedom has its dangers, and common sense assured him that this principle would be fatal to any effort at association. Should he succeed in bringing his converts together to live under one roof as one family, there must be some means of control over them.

Having abolished the old law, it was difficult to set up another in its stead; but the genius of the prophet enabled him to surmount the difficulty. He taught that even Saints must have some standard by which to test their actions, and that, although free from the law, they were still bound to act for their common happiness. Perfect Christians, he said, would always be in sympathy with each other. In a community of Saints, this sympathy would be the unwritten law by which each one must shape his conduct. A brother or sister acting at variance with the general wish of the community, could not, of course, be in sympathy with it, and therefore could not be doing the will of God. This principle, akin to public opinion in its operation, was therefore laid down as the fundamental rule for the government of the new Church; but it was long before it was definitely accepted by the Saints, who at the first seem to have been very reluctant to give up any of their new freedom.

The most immediate difficulty which lay in Noyes' way, was his want of funds to carry out his plan. To gather his converts into one family, he must have a house in which to shelter them, and the means of providing for their support. His followers were poor, and he had not a cent. In this strait, he began to look about him for relief, and, with his usual ingenuity, hit upon a feasible plan.

There was among his converts, at Putney, a young lady named Harriet A. Holton. She was pleasing in person, of good family, and an heiress to a limited sum. This sum seemed large to Noyes, and he deter-

mined to get possession of it. It would enable him to carry his scheme into execution, and the money must be his. There was only one way in which he could get the money, however, and that was by marrying her. Herein lay his difficulty. He had begun to denounce marriage as sinful, selfish, and of the devil, and Harriet had heard him do so. How, then, could he propose to her to enter into that state which he had so often declared to her was opposed to all true holiness? Yet marry her he must; for her grandfather, who was her lawful guardian, as well as her only living relative, would not listen to any union unsanctioned by the law. Indeed, Noyes was not sure that the old man would receive even his offer of marriage favorably; but he resolved to make the venture. His necessities were great, and Harriet's money was tempting. Accordingly, he wrote her a letter—the strongest declaration of love ever penned by mortal man—offering her his hand. The offer was coupled with such singular conditions, that we deem it best to give the letter in full. It was as follows:

PUTNEY, *June* 11, 1838.

"BELOVED SISTER: After a deliberation of more than a year, in patient waiting, and watching for indications of the Lord's will, I am now permitted—and, indeed, happily constrained—by a combination of favorable circumstances, to propose to you a partnership which I will not call marriage till I have defined it.

"As believers, we are already one with each other,

and with all Saints. This primary and universal union is more radical, and, of course, more important, than any partial and external partnership; and with reference to this, it is said, 'There is neither male nor female,' neither marrying nor giving in marriage, in heaven. With this in view, we can enter into no engagements with each other which shall limit the range of our affections, as they are limited in matrimonial engagements, by the fashion of this world. I desire and expect my yoke-fellow will love all who love God, whether they be male or female, with a warmth and strength of affection unknown to earthly lovers, and as freely as if she stood in no particular connection with me. In fact, the object of my connection with her will be, not to monopolize or enslave her heart or my own, but to enlarge and establish both in the free fellowship of God's universal family. If the external union and companionship of a man and woman in accordance with these principles is properly called marriage, I know that marriage exists in heaven, and I have no scruple in offering you my heart and hand, with an engagement to be married in due form, as soon as God shall permit.

"At first I designed to set before you *many* weighty reasons for this proposal; but, upon second thought, I prefer the attitude of a witness to that of an advocate, and shall therefore only suggest, briefly, a few matter-of-fact considerations, leaving the advocacy of the case to God—the customary persuasions and romance to your own imagination—and more particular explanations to a personal interview.

"1. In the plain speech of a witness, not of a flatterer, I respect and love you for many desirable qualities, spiritual, intellectual, moral, and personal; and especially for your faith, kindness, simplicity, and modesty.

"2. I am confident that the partnership I propose will greatly promote our mutual happiness and improvement.

"3. It will also set us free—at least myself—from much reproach and many evil surmisings, which are occasioned by celibacy in present circumstances.

"4. It will enlarge our sphere and increase our means of usefulness to the people of God.

"5. I am willing, at this particular time, to testify by example that I am a follower of Paul, in holding that 'marriage is honorable in all.'

"6. I am also willing to testify practically against that 'bondage of liberty' which utterly sets at naught the ordinances of men, and refuses to submit to them even for the Lord's sake. I know that the immortal union of hearts—everlasting honeymoon, which alone is worthy to be called marriage—can never be *made* by a ceremony; and I know equally well that such a marriage can never be *marred* by a ceremony. You are aware that I have no profession save that of a servant of God—a profession which has thus far subjected me to many vicissitudes, and has given me but little of this world's prosperity. If you judge me by the outward appearance, or the future by the past, you will naturally find, in the irregularity and seeming instability of my character and fortune, many

RECEPTION OF A FEMALE CONVERT AT THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

objections to a partnership. Of this I will only say, that I am conscious of possessing, by the grace of God, a spirit of firmness, perseverance, and faithfulness in every good work, which has made the vagabond, incoherent service to which I have thus far been called, almost intolerable to me; and I shall welcome Heaven's order for my release from it, as an exile after seven years' pilgrimage would welcome the sight of his home. I see now no reason why I should not have a 'certain dwelling-place,' and enter upon a course which is consistent with the duties of domestic life. Perhaps your reply to this will be the voice saying to me—

> 'Watchman, let thy wanderings cease;
> Hie thee to thy quiet home.'

"Yours in the Lord,

"J. H. Noyes."

Whatever may be thought of this letter, its honesty cannot be questioned. Noyes makes no secret of the fact that he shall not regard the marriage as requiring him to "cleave only unto" Harriet, and tells her, in plain English, that the liberty he claims for himself he will accord her. He has never denied that he married her for the money she brought him. He says, the Lord gave her and her wealth to him, to reward him for proclaiming the truth. She must have been very anxious to become Mrs. Noyes, or she would hardly have accepted a suit based upon principles so utterly at variance with all female ideas on the

subject. Her grandfather does not seem to have interposed the least objection to Noyes. A few years before this, he had caused her to break off an engagement with a young man to whom she was much attached, and, alarmed by the illness into which her grief plunged her, he had sworn never to interfere in her love-affairs again, but to allow her to do as she pleased in them. So, when Noyes' suit, backed by Harriet's acceptance of it, was made known to him, he readily sanctioned it, and in a short while the young people were married.

Harriet brought her husband seven thousand dollars; and he expended this sum in building a house and printing-office, and in establishing a newspaper, in which he proceeded to set forth his peculiar religious and social views. During the life of Harriet's grandfather, the old man furnished them with the means on which they lived; and, at his death, which took place soon after their marriage, left them nine thousand dollars in cash.

Having now the necessary funds, Noyes gathered his family of Saints together, and began the practice of his new system. This family at first consisted of his wife, his mother, his sister, and his brother. The organization was effected about the beginning of the year 1840, and other members were added to it during the seven years of its continuance at Putney, until the whole number was about forty.

Noyes and his relatives, "with a few preachers, farmers, doctors, and their wives and daughters, went to live in the same house; setting up, as they oddly

phrased it, a branch of the heavenly business in Putney, after a formal renunciation of the Republican Government, and an everlasting secession from the United States.

"And now began for them a new life, more daring, more original, than that which Dana, Ripley, and Hawthorne tried to follow at Brook Farm. They stopped all prayer and religious service, they put down Sunday, they broke up family ties, and, without separating any body, put an end to the selfish relations of husband and wife. All property was thrown into a common stock; all debts, all duties, fell upon the Society, which ate in one room, slept under one roof, and lived upon one store. At first they were strict and stern with each other; for, written codes being all set aside as things of the old world, they had no means of guiding weak, of controlling wicked brethren, save that of free criticism on their conduct —a system of government which had yet to become a saving power. The life was somewhat hard. Three hours were spent each morning in the hall: one hour in reading such books of history as might help them to understand the Bible better; one hour in silence, or in reading the Scriptures; a third hour in discussing the things they had read and thought. Midday was given to labor on the farm; evening to study, reading, music, and society. One person gave lessons to the rest in either Greek or Hebrew; a second read aloud some English or German writer on hermeneutics; and a third stood up and criticised his brother Saint. In the midst of these incessant labors, the old

Adam appeared among them and slew their peace. One man ate too much, a second drank too much, a third ran wild in love. Strife arose among the brethren, leading in turn to gossip among their neighbors, to queries about them in the local press, to attacks in the surrounding grog-shops, and, at length, into suits in the Gentile courts. What they had most to fear in their little Eden, was gospel freedom in the matter of goods and wives.

"Noyes admits that the devil found a way into the second Eden as into the first; and that in Putney, as in Paradise, the Evil One worked his evil will through woman. When the moral disorder in his little paradise could no longer be hidden, he became very angry and very sad. How was he to bear this cross? A sudden change from legal restraints to gospel liberties must needs be a trial to the lusts of man. But how could he make distinctions in the work of God? God had given to man his appetites, passions, and powers. These powers and appetites are free. Desire has its use and faculty in the heavenly system; and when the soul is free, all use implies the peril of abuse. Must, then, the Saints come under bonds? He could not see it. Aware that many of his people had disgraced the profession of holiness, he still said to himself, in the words of St. Paul, 'Must I go back because offences come?' To go back, was for him to tear up his Bible and lay down his work. Such a return was beyond his desire and beyond his power; so he labored on with his people, curbing the unruly, guiding the careless, and expelling the impenitent.

As he put the case to himself: If a man were moving from one town to another, he could not hope to do it without moil or dirt; how, then, could he expect to change his place of toil from earth to heaven, without suffering damage by the way? Waste is incident to change. His people were unprepared for so sharp a trial; and the quarrels which had come upon them, scandalizing Windham County, and scattering many of the Saints, were laid by him to the account of those as yet unused to the art of living under grace."*

The free-love doctrines and practices of Noyes' Society gave great offence to the Gentiles of Windham County, who could not accept as an act of holiness that which both law and public opinion denounced as a degrading crime. In the eyes of the people of the neighborhood, Noyes' establishment was an immense brothel, and one which ought to be suppressed. The better classes contented themselves with denouncing the affair in unmeasured terms; but the lower class, and especially the "roughs" of the bar-rooms and groceries, indulged in frequent acts of hostility towards the "Free-Lovers." This annoyance grew greater every day, and, at length, Noyes found that Putney was becoming too hot to hold his Bible-Family. It was evident that a longer stay in that place would be productive of greater trouble, and might result in the disruption of the little Community. A removal was therefore resolved upon, and a new location for the Saints was promptly secured.

In the county of Madison, in the State of New

* "New America," p. 408–409.

York, not far from the village of Oneida, was a valley of great beauty and considerable fertility, so completely shut out from the world, and yet within such easy reach of it, that nature seemed to have designed it as a refuge for those who had cast the world behind them. The soil was almost virgin. The valley had been a section of the lands reserved to the Oneida Indians, who had parted with it in preference to cultivating it; and the man to whom they had sold it had done little more than burn down the trees for the purpose of clearing up the land. A few log huts were scattered through the valley, and a creek, clear and swift, watered it. Noyes was charmed with the place, and commenced negotiations with its owner for its purchase. He was successful; the land passed into the possession of the Community; the property at Putney which could not be removed, was rented on favorable terms, and on the 26th of November, 1847, the Saints left Vermont for Oneida.

Upon reaching Oneida, they were joined by Mary Cragin and her husband, together with some others. They threw all their possessions into a common fund, erected a frame house and the necessary outbuildings, and fairly laid the foundations of what has grown into the flourishing Community of to-day.

The new Bible-Family announced itself as a branch of the visible kingdom of heaven. Many of the Saints having been at Putney, they had some experience in the ways of grace; and Noyes laid down for them a rule in their new home, which a Gentile would have thought superfluous at Oneida Creek—the duty

of enjoying life. At Putney, said he, they had been too strict—studying overmuch—dealing too harshly with each other's faults. In their new home, Heaven would not ask from them such rigors. If God, he asked them, had meant Adam to fast and pray, would he have placed him in a garden tempted on every side by delicious fruit? Man's Maker blessed him with appetites, and turned him into a clover-field! And what were these Saints at Oneida Creek? Men in the position of Adam before the Fall; men without sin; men to whom every thing was lawful because every thing was pure. Why, then, should they not eat, drink, and love to their hearts' content, under the daily guidance of the Holy Spirit?

"They made no rules, they chose no chiefs. Every man was to be a rule to himself, every woman to herself; and as to rulers, they declared that nature and education make men masters of their fellows, putting them in the places which they are born and trained to fill;—another way of saying that God was to rule in person, with Noyes for His visible pope and king. All property was made over to Christ; and the use of it only was reserved for those who had united themselves to Him. The wives and children of the family were to be as common as the loaves and fishes; the very soul of the new Society being a mystery very difficult to explain in English phrase."*

For nearly twenty-three years this Community has conducted its operations from its "Home" at Oneida. At first its career was marked with difficulties, disap-

* "New America," p. 412.

pointments, and disagreements; but it gradually surmounted these, and has now overrun its original bounds, and expanded into two similar settlements—the one at Willow Place, in the same county, and the other at Wallingford, Conn.; both branches being under the control of the parent organization.

CHAPTER III.

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

From New York to Oneida.—A Night on the Hudson.—Ride over the New York Central Railroad.—Oneida.—A Flourishing Village.—Ride Across the Country.—A Visit to the Oneida Community.—First Sight of a Saint in Bloomers.—The Reception-Room and its Appointments.—The Visitors' Register.—Brother Allen.—A Busy Little Saint.—A Courteous Guide.—The Community Mansion.—Inspired Architecture.—The Cellars.—How the Edifice is Heated.—A Model Kitchen.—Inspired Cooking.—Meal-Ticket System.—The Library.—A "Perfect" Collection.—Brother Pitt.—The Museum.—The Family Hall.—Amateur Musicians.—Inspired Theatricals.—The Family Meetings.—Scenes in the Hall.—The Private Apartments.—The Upper Sitting-Room.—The Bed-Chambers.—The Old Mansion.—The Dining-Hall.—How the Saints Fare.—The Community Wine.—How the Day is Divided.—Saintly Waiters and Dumb Waiters.

TAKING the evening boat from New York for Albany, I had a pleasant sail up the Hudson, together with a good night's rest, and reached Albany in time to embark in the Western-bound train which left the latter city at 7.30 A. M. A dull and dusty ride of nearly six hours, across as tame a country as the Continent can boast of, brought me to the flourishing town of Oneida, in Madison County, where I proposed to establish my headquarters during my investigations of that singular Community whose history I have traced in the preceding pages of this work.

Oneida is a creation of the New York Central Railway. Previous to the building of that road, only a few farmhouses stood in its vicinity; Oneida Castle, about two miles back from the railway, being the only settlement in the neighborhood. A station was established on the site of the present town, and in a little while it was found that Oneida Castle was too far away from the road. A few houses sprang up around the depot, and since then the place has gradually attained its present proportions. It is located in Lenox township, and is as pretty and well-built a town as can be found in Western New York. It has a population of four thousand souls, boasts a couple of hotels, two newspapers, and several pretty churches, and bears every outward indication of enterprise and prosperity. It is the centre of a flourishing agricultural district, and a place of considerable trade. The Midland Railway—the new road from Binghamton to Lake Ontario—crosses the New York Central here, and will doubtless add much to the prosperity of the town.

When I had made my arrangements for going over to the "Community," my landlord kindly procured me a buggy and a driver, and I set off on my visit to the Saints. The young man who drove my conveyance had formerly been an employé in the machine-shop of the Saints for several years, and was disposed to be communicative. I availed myself of this inclination on his part to draw from him such information as he possessed concerning the people into whose retreat I was about to enter.

A drive of a little over half an hour brought us to the Community farm, a fine domain lying in a lovely valley. Every inch of ground bore evidence of the careful cultivation which the Saints had bestowed upon their heritage, and the fences and outbuildings were in the best condition. The roads were mended with care as long as they skirted the farm, and were in striking contrast with those beyond the confines of this modern Eden.

Alighting at the front door of the principal building, I was admitted by a smart-looking young woman in a bloomer dress, and, upon asking for Mr. Noyes, was ushered into the reception-room.

I found myself in a large, airy apartment on the first floor, whose windows on both sides looked out on the lovely lawn which surrounds the house. The walls are plain, the ceiling is tolerably high-pitched, and the light and ventilation of the apartment are excellent. A well-executed photograph of John H. Noyes hangs near the door leading into the main hall, and on the opposite side of the room is an engraving of Church's "Niagara." A mahogany stereoscope, filled with views from various parts of the world, stands on a table placed by one of the windows. Besides these views, it contains two portraits—one of Edwin Booth and the other of Anna Dickinson. These being the only Gentile faces that I saw at the Community, I could not help wondering what particular fancy had led the Saints to choose them. The furniture of the room is simple but handsome, consisting of a sofa and chairs of mahogany, covered with black

horse-hair cloth, and several tables of the same wood. A neat ingrain carpet covers the floor, and the windows are draped with curtains of a warm, cheerful color. Near the door, on a small table, is the register, in which all visitors are expected to record their names. It is very well filled, showing that, on some days, the visitors to the place are counted by the score. Another fact that I learned from the register is, that the majority of the visitors to the establishment are women. They come here not only from the surrounding counties, but from all parts of the Union. Scattered over the tables are a number of books and pamphlets, some of them the works of Mr. Noyes, others of a miscellaneous character.

In a few minutes one of the Saints entered the room, and informed me that, as Mr. Noyes could not receive me just then, he would take pleasure in showing me through the establishment. He introduced himself as Mr. H. G. Allen, and I afterwards found him to be the business manager of the Community's agency in New York city. He was a keen, wiry little man, with a florid face and sandy hair. He seemed all nerves and brain, with no more flesh and blood about him than was absolutely necessary to constitute him a human being. He never met my gaze fairly, but his eyes kept searching my face with quick, stealthy glances, as if he would read my secret thoughts, but was fearful of betraying his own. The face was keen rather than intellectual; and I am sure the Community could not trust to a shrewder brain for the management of its interests. The mouth was

sensual and the least pleasant feature of the face, and he had a habit of smacking his lips and half closing his eyes, as if rolling some imaginary sweet under his tongue. He told me he had been in the Community for thirteen years, and volunteered much interesting information concerning its history and material growth; but when I questioned him concerning the peculiar socialistic features of the place, he became more silent and reserved. This I found to be the case with every Saint with whom I conversed. "Here are our works," they say to the world. "Come and see them. We have nothing that we are unwilling should be known. . . . We do nothing in secret." Yet, when the Gentile inquirer seeks to prove the truth of this assertion, he is met at the outset by a degree of reserve and evasiveness which can but convince him that, in spite of their protestations, the Saints are very unwilling to make known *all* their practices to the world.

I found Mr. Allen very obliging and courteous. Every thing about the place was thoroughly familiar to him, and I could have had no better guide. The results of this tour of inspection I purpose embodying in this chapter.

The domain of the Oneida Community comprises 664 acres of land, and a number of buildings of brick and of wood. The new railway—the Midland—passes diagonally across the farm for about a mile, in the rear of the dwellings. The Saints gave the right of way to the Company upon condition that the latter would erect a freight and passenger depot at the Com-

munity, and make it a regular station of their road. These conditions have been complied with. The depot buildings are of frame, are neat and tasteful, and stand just back of the dwellings. The Saints are exerting themselves to make the grounds immediately surrounding the "station" as attractive as those on the opposite side of the farm.

The main building of the Community is of brick. It is 188 feet long by 70 feet wide. This is the "Home," or "living house," of the Saints. The north wing contains the apartments of the adults, and the south wing is devoted to the children and their attendants. The building is of brick, with stone trimmings, and consists of a centre and two wings, with a tower at each end. It is quite a handsome and imposing structure. In the rear is an extension, which is about 100 feet long.

The edifice was designed and erected by Mr. James Hamilton, formerly a farmer and carpenter. He is a New England man, and is shrewd and keen. He is the immediate head of the Oneida Community, Mr. Noyes having the general supervision, if I may so speak, of all the settlements of the Saints. Hamilton seems to have had a contempt for the laws of architecture, for he has ignored the most of them in the construction of this edifice. He claims that his plans are the result of inspiration, and that every detail of the building, from the placing of a rafter to the arrangement of the principal hall, is the result of a direct communication from heaven. Brother Hamilton is a good carpenter, if a poor architect; for the work on

the building is well done, and of a very substantial character.

The foundations of the edifice are very interesting, and are worthy of a visit. A stairway at the rear of the main hall leads to them. The apartments here, though called basements, are some distance under ground, and are really cellars. The walls are stout and admirably built, and enclose a series of passages into which open a number of subterranean apartments, all of which are in use by the Saints. The length of these basement and partition walls is over one-third of a mile. Opening from the passages are the store-rooms, in which are kept the fruits and other good things laid up by the Saints for their winter use. They are arranged in long bins, and present a tempting show; for the Saints pride themselves upon the excellence of their larder. Several of the apartments are used as bath-rooms, and are fitted up with every convenience for that purpose. In others, exotic plants are stored away during the winter, the genial warmth of the place rendering their preservation sure. Another apartment still is used as a playroom for the children during inclement weather. Here the little folk, snug and warm, and sheltered from "the cold, the wind, and the rain," pass a large portion of their time, every effort being made to contribute to their comfort and happiness.

The most interesting apartment in this portion of the building is that occupied by the steam-heating apparatus. Here is one of Phleger's steam generators, of thirty horse-power, and one of the best of this

famous machine ever manufactured. The services of but one man are required to manage it, yet it does duty for the whole institution. By means of pipes carried up through the walls and spread all over the establishment, it heats every room in this building, besides the vaults, and performs the same service for the new south building, which stands at some distance back of the "Home." A mile and a half of iron piping is used for this purpose. This, however, is not the only service it renders: it drives a fine steam-engine, which is used for printing and manufacturing silk twist, heats all the water needed on the place, and cooks the food prepared in the kitchen. It enables the Saints to entirely dispense with the use of stoves, and thus saves them a vast amount of trouble. Mr. Allen assured me that it did its work admirably, keeping the building warm and comfortable in every part, with the steam not needed for other purposes.

From the boiler-room the visitor passes, by means of a subterranean archway, to the kitchen, which is located in the "basement" of the new brick building in the rear of the "Home." The engine-room adjoins this apartment. The kitchen is large and airy, and is exceedingly neat. A number of labor-saving machines are in operation here, and the most improved utensils of all kinds are used in the cooking. Among the machines in use are a patent dish-washer, and a similarly protected potato-washer. The former consists of a wire netting holding a number of plates, which are dipped by means of it in a tub of hot

water. The cleansing process—thanks to this "modern improvement"—is rapidly and thoroughly performed. The potato-washer is an immense tin cylinder, revolving in a trough filled with water. The motion of the wheel through the water cleanses the potatoes, and prepares them for cooking.

The cooking and kitchen-work are performed by male and female members of the Community, who alternate this with other duties. The operations are all conducted under the supervision of some elderly member, generally a man, whose experience in the culinary art enables him to direct the labors of his assistants intelligently. A number of young women were at work in the kitchen during my visit, making pies and other dainties. They claimed that no such pies were to be found outside of the Community, as here they were made according to the peculiar ideas of the Saints. Whether the pies were also the work of inspiration, I do not pretend to say, but they certainly seemed to me to bear a wonderful resemblance to those for which every New England housewife is famous. The neatness and order of the kitchen, the admirable manner in which the food is prepared and cooked, and the perfect system which is manifest in every thing, would delight the most orderly housekeeper in the land. The use of steam renders the operations of the department very much cleaner and more expeditious than where ranges or stoves are used. It is no small matter to provide food for a couple of hundred hungry mouths, and, of course, system and economy are in the greatest demand here.

Here is also the bakery, where three or four barrels of flour are weekly made into bread. The bread made here is especially good, and is the boast of the fair Saints who prepare it. They fully recognize the truth of the old adage, that it is the staff of life, and consume considerable quantities of it. The steam-range in the kitchen is one of the best in use, and is worth a visit from every guest of the Community. Those in charge of the culinary department are usually willing to discuss the mysteries of their art with visitors, and I am sure that many a valuable hint may be gained by housekeepers from the Saints, who regard "perfect" cooking as amongst the highest privileges of their high estate. Father Noyes is a believer in the duty of saving female labor, and, when any new idea for accomplishing this desirable result is fairly developed in the outside world, he is one of the first to advocate the duty of making it serve to lighten the burdens of his "better halves."

From the kitchen we passed back to the main hall of the principal building. On your right, as you enter from the lawn, is the parlor, or reception-room, already described, near which is a retiring-room with toilet conveniences for gentlemen. At the lower end of the hall, on the same side, but separated from the parlor by a small passage, is the visitors' dining-room. This is furnished simply but comfortably, and is used for the entertainment of strangers. Visitors are not invited to stop over night at the Community, or to tarry to meals, but all who desire it can purchase meal-tickets and obtain their repasts in this room.

The sum asked for the meal is almost nominal; but in the summer-months, when the rush of visitors is greatest, the Saints derive a considerable revenue from the sale of meal-tickets. Visitors to the "Home" are requested, in the official guide, to "procure their tickets as soon after arrival as convenient, to give the kitchen department suitable time for preparation."

Immediately opposite the reception-room is the business office of the Community—an apartment evidently meant for work. It is simple and plain in its arrangements, every thing being meant for use, and but little for ornament.

Back of this is the library—a commodious and tastefully arranged hall. In the centre is a long reading-table, above which several lamps are suspended. Around the room are ranged the bookshelves, in alcoves, and ornamented with neat woodwork. The decorations of the apartment are in oak, and give it a quiet and studious air, which is admirably in keeping with its uses. The collection of books comprises about 3,300 volumes, systematically arranged, and consisting principally of works of science, history, biography, and theology. There is very little of what the world calls light-reading in the collection. The Saints, as a rule, do not believe in novels. They regard the time given to them as wasted, and their effect as pernicious. The tables are supplied with the current papers of the day, the illustrated weeklies of New York figuring prominently among them. Fashion-papers are not wanted, the Saints having a fashion

of their own for the gentler sex, which, like the law of the Medes and Persians, "altereth not."

The library is a pleasant room—to my mind the pleasantest in the house—and the papers and books are in constant demand. The members of the Community pride themselves upon their intellectuality, and are very far from despising the wisdom of the world they have left behind them. The books are well thumbed, and almost every one gives evidence that it has been used by more than one reader. The librarian—Brother Pitt—is not only a most intelligent man, but, next to Father Noyes, is perhaps the best-read man in the Community. He is very proud of his position, and of his collection also. This much of the world clings to him still, and I think he would hardly care to shake it off if he could. A pleasant man is Brother Pitt, also; and, if he is sure of not being interrupted, he can drop his saintly airs, and chat as interestingly about the world of letters and art as the most genuine Bohemian in the Quartier Latin.

Leaving the library and ascending the staircase at the back of the main hall, I was ushered into a vestibule fitted up as a museum. It contains, now, about a dozen interesting pictures, and the nucleus of a museum. The curiosities are arranged in glass cases, and to each is affixed a ticket upon which is recorded a description of the article and the name of the donor. "Among the curiosities are a few animal remains, including the well-preserved tooth of a mastodon, some stalactites, old books, relics from Pompeii and Egypt,

medals, Indian weapons, &c. A case of birds, and one of insects, prepared by members of the Community, may be examined by persons interested in the science to which they belong."

From this vestibule doors open into the family or meeting-hall—a large room 21 feet high. It is frescoed, and is a handsome and well-ventilated apartment, capable of containing about seven hundred people. It is surrounded on three sides by a gallery, which is provided with seats. The main floor is taken up with small tables and chairs, each table being furnished with a kerosene oil-lamp. The lamps are simple but neat, and are provided with paper shades of various colors. The effect of so many small lamps on these tables, in addition to the lights suspended from the ceiling, is very curious. At the upper end of the hall are a couple of private rooms, one on each side. A piano and cabinet organ are to be seen in the hall, and furnish the Saints with music during their meetings. Several members of the Community are excellent performers upon other musical instruments, and, together with the players upon the piano and organ, constitute a capital orchestra. Musical entertainments are frequently given by the family in the evening, and to some of these strangers are admitted. During the summer season, such entertainments for the benefit of visitors to the Community are held every afternoon.

At the upper end of the hall is a stage, raised about four feet above the floor, and provided with a drop-curtain. It is plainly fitted up, without scenery,

and is lighted by kerosene oil-lamps hung from the sides. Here the Saints give dramatic representations about once a week, Sunday evening being the favorite occasion for such amusements. The idea of Saints giving theatrical performances on the evening of the Lord's day will doubtless strike the reader as a very unholy act; but to these perfect beings, with whom sin is impossible, there is nothing wrong in it. Sunday is no more with them than any other day, except that it is their principal time for enjoyment. The performances are very good, there being considerable native talent of this kind among the Saints. Miss Constance Noyes and Miss Edith Waters are the best among the female performers. The pieces given are light and sprightly, amusement being the end in view.

The audience are in hearty sympathy with the performers, and never fail to award them their full measure of applause; of which, by the way, these Saintly votaries of Thespis are as fond as any actor on the Gentile boards. The members of the family are very fond of these representations, and it is very probable that, ere long, the stage will be supplied with scenery, which will add very greatly to the effectiveness of the displays. No New York audience could evince a greater appreciation of the efforts of the players—and certainly none are so unvaryingly kind to them—as do the members of the Community. Each actor is the dear friend of every member of the audience, and all are trying to contribute to the enjoyment of their fellows. The Saints sit together in such

positions as will most promote their bodily comfort, careless of rules, and enjoy the play with a gusto that is contagious. The children are always present on such occasions, and express their delight with the greatest heartiness.

Lectures and readings are frequently given here, and always draw out the full strength of the Community, and of the branch Society at Willow Place. Mr. Noyes is the most popular lecturer, and, as he is a man of brains, rarely fails to elicit the profound attention of his hearers.

The principal use to which the hall is put, however, is for the "family meetings," which are held here for an hour or two every evening. These meetings explain the peculiar arrangement of the tables and lights. The hall, at such times, presents a very interesting appearance. The lamps are all lighted, and around each table is gathered a group of Saints, male and female. Some are reading, some sewing, some knitting, some chatting, and some making love. At the opening of the meeting, Brother Pitt, the librarian, who has a good voice and is an excellent reader, generally reads aloud the news of the day from the papers received since the last meeting. The New York dailies, being the fullest and most satisfactory, generally receive the closest attention. Then follows the discussion of business, or the reading of some interesting or popular work, or music. The family usually separate for the night about ten o'clock. The meetings are always interesting, especially when some brother or sister is made the subject of the criticism

of the Saints. Then the proceedings are curious indeed, and would afford material for a volume.

These constitute all the apartments usually shown to visitors, the remainder being the private rooms of the family. A few favored ones are, however, permitted to penetrate to the principal chambers in the wings.

The most important of these is the "upper sitting-room," in the north wing. This is a plain and rather bare-looking apartment, the chief peculiarity of which is that it is a two-story room. It is arranged somewhat on the plan of the Hall of Marshals in the palace of the Tuileries, but, of course, is entirely unlike that gorgeous saloon in appearance. It is neatly carpeted, and the walls are ornamented with a number of engravings. The two stories are separated from each other by a narrow gallery or corridor, which runs around the inner walls of the room, and upon which the doors of the second-story chambers open. During the day the centre of the floor is occupied by a large table, and a bureau and mirror stand at one end of the room. On the north, west, and south, a double tier of bed-rooms opens into this hall, and on the other side the windows look out upon the lawn.

During the day, the members of the family flit in and out of this room, which, though plain and simple, is one of the pleasantest in the house; and here you may always find some of them engaged in reading, sewing, or gossiping. This being the favorite room of the house, the Saints prefer to pass as much of their time in it as they can spare from their duties. It is

also the chief lounging-place of the sick and convalescing members, and has, perhaps, more about it to attract the visitor who is permitted to enter it than any other apartment.

The bed-chambers are small, as a rule, but are neat and well-ventilated. Some of the beds are single, but the majority are double. The furniture is plain and simple, and the rooms are generally without ornament. Every thing is scrupulously clean, and there is no confusion or slovenliness manifested anywhere. The rooms are numbered, like the state-rooms of a steamer. Though each Saint has a chamber assigned to him or her, no one has an especial claim to it, every thing being held in common here. If Brother A., on going to his room at night, finds his place occupied by Brother B. or Brother C., he must not complain. There is no private property here.

Adjoining the main building is the old mansion of the Community, a wooden edifice, now in process of removal. It is a plain and uninviting building, but is interesting as the home of the Saints during their early struggles. By the time these pages are in type, it will doubtless be numbered amongst the things of the past.

In the basement of this building is the family dining-hall—a large, square apartment, occupied by a number of small tables. Here the family assemble for meals. The fare is simple. Meat is used to a limited extent, but those who eat it are not regarded as very far advanced in grace. The holiest Saints eat merely vegetables, fruits, and bread. Neither tea nor

coffee, nor wine or spirits, are used. The Saints make several kinds of home-made wine, but do not drink any except as a medicine. Perhaps they are wise in this, for their vintage is very far from being "perfect." The breakfast-hour is about seven, dinner at twelve, and supper at six in the evening. The dining-room is fitted up with less taste than any other room in the establishment, usefulness being held in higher esteem than beauty. A new dining-room is now being constructed over the kitchen, and, as it will communicate with the latter apartment by means of a dumb-waiter, will greatly lessen the burdens of the table-service.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

The Laundry.—Admirable Arrangements.—Washing-Day has no Terrors for the Saints.—The Saw-Mill.—The Seminary.—The Lecture-Room.—The Class in Chemistry.—Dr. Noyes.—Schools for the Children.—The Community Store.—The Trade with the Outside World.—Inspired Tailors and Boot-Makers.—The Counting-Room.—The Female Book-Keepers.—A New Department of Holiness.—Brother Allen and the Black-Eyed Book-Keeper.—A Plump Saint in Short Skirts and Breeches.—View from the Tower.—The "Heritage of the Saints."—The Farm.—Perfect Agriculture.—Statistics of Farm and Orchard Produce.—The Stables.—Fine Horses a Result of Holiness.—New Arrangements.—The Midland Railway brings the Saints into direct Communication with the World.

Back of the mansion is a new brick building, used for the silk-works and printing-office. As we shall have occasion to refer to this department again, we pass it by for the present.

Seventy rods in a southern direction from the mansion is the laundry—a model establishment of its kind. It is fitted up with a steam-boiler, mangle, washing and wringing machines, and a drying-room. The work in this department is done by hired help, under the supervision of some of the old women Saints. About 4,000 pieces per week are turned out here with scarcely any trouble, so perfect are the arrangements for saving labor.

Close by the laundry is the saw-mill of the Community, used principally for making up such timber as is needed on the place. Returning up the road to a point nearly in front of the Community dwellings, we passed into the seminary. A room on the first floor has been fitted up as a lecture-room, with semi-circular rows of seats, each with a ledge in front for the note-books of the students. At the upper end of the room is a double door sliding into the wall, and separating the lecture-room from the chemical laboratory. The outer side of the door is painted as a black-board, on which I found written, in chalk, a formula for an advanced class in chemistry; and in the laboratory was a class of Saints engaged in experimenting in acids. The Professor in charge of this department is Dr. Noyes, a son, according to the flesh, of John H. Noyes. During my visit, I found him to be thoroughly at home in his science, and from him I obtained much interesting information both as to the Community and the process of dyeing silks, which is here performed under his direction. Dr. Noyes told me that some of his pupils had developed a very decided talent for chemistry, and would be of great service to the Community in the various departments in which knowledge and skill of this kind is needed. Some of the class that I saw were middle-aged men, and some were quite young.

The seminary building is two stories high, and is provided with a tower. It is fitted up with class and recitation-rooms for the children of the Community, as well as the Saints themselves. Mr. Noyes and his

followers regard the education of a human being as a never-ending labor. Those who desire mental culture, find many opportunities for it here; and such as wish to remedy the defects of early education, are afforded the means of doing so.

Beyond the seminary is the store, which occupies the centre of a plain frame building. Here the Saints are supplied with such articles as are needed for either their personal or household use. Any outsider may purchase at this store; and, as the articles for sale here are of the best quality, and the prices moderate, the Community does a thriving business with the Gentile world. The members are supplied with goods at cost, or at a small profit; but outsiders must pay higher prices. The store is in charge of women. In the right wing of this building are the shoe and tailoring shops, in charge of and carried on by members of the Community.

The left wing is occupied by the counting-rooms of the Community. These offices are neatly fitted up, and are in charge of a male Saint, who exercises a general supervision over them. This Saint is Mr. Allen, I believe. The books are kept and the correspondence carried on by females. There were two in the office at the time of my visit. One was a bright-eyed brunette, who, although apparently on the shady side of thirty, had by no means lost her good looks. The other was a plump, fat girl of twenty-four or twenty-five, with fair skin and red hair. She was not pretty, but a pleasanter and brighter face I did not see in the Community. These sweet Saints permitted

me to look over their books in order to satisfy myself as to their abilities in this particular department of holiness; and I must say, that I never saw a neater, more systematic and comprehensive set of books in any business house in the Gentile world. I thought Brother Allen's manner was very tender towards the brunette, whose bright eyes and glossy locks might have turned a wiser head than that of the little Saint at my side. While we stood looking over the books, I thought I detected some mysterious little telegraphing, at which the red-haired girl looked very demure. Brother Allen seemed in a high good-humor while we were in the office, and all the while rolled his imaginary sweet under his tongue more vigorously than ever. If the doctrine of affinities be correct, I am sure the Community has made a grave mistake if they have not paired these two. Brother Allen is a shrewd business man, and the pretty black-eyed Saint a good book-keeper—a bond of union stronger than any the Community can devise. Why should not these two be permitted to discuss the mysteries of commerce together in the nooks and walks of the "Home?"

From the store we went back to the main building, and ascended to the summit of the tower, from which the entire "heritage of the Saints" can be seen at a glance. It was indeed a lovely view which spread out before us, embracing, as it did, the whole valley watered by Oneida Creek. At our feet lay the lawn, with its neatly trimmed walks, the flower gardens with their pretty products just beginning to show themselves at the bidding of the Spring, and

the rustic seats and arbors half concealed in shady nooks, charming the eye with their quiet loveliness. Beyond the lawn were the vineyards and orchards, and the broad acres of the Saints, in which the seed had just been placed. A goodly heritage it was, truly, stretching away from the Home for upwards of half a mile in every direction, and seeming almost to meet the hills which shut in the valley. About a mile to the northeast, and on the Community farm, we could see the *Willow Place Community*, with its substantial workshops. On every thing was plainly written success and prosperity; and my guide seemed to think no view in the broad earth so complete and lovely as this.

Descending from the tower, we strolled over the farm. The grounds immediately in front of the house are handsomely and tastefully laid off, and are exclusively for ornament. To the north and west are the orchards and vineyards, which are the pride and boast of the Saints. Last year (1869), the product of these was 400 barrels of apples, 117 barrels of pears, 5,000 pounds of grapes. In former years the Saints were large producers of fruits, and shipped considerable quantities of them to the eastern markets. Their strawberries were famous all over New England and New York, and always commanded a high price. Of late years, however, they have curtailed their energies in this respect, and retain nearly all their berries for their own use. Formerly they were extensively engaged in canning fruits; but now this branch of their industry has been almost entirely abandoned.

The farm consists of 664 acres. The greater part of it is under cultivation. The land is naturally good, and has been improved to its highest capacity by the Saints. The system of agriculture pursued by them yields the largest results, and keeps the land up to its greatest fertility.

Scattered over the domain are the tenant-houses of the Community. These are seventy-five in number, and are, for the most part, neat cottages, with a small patch of ground attached to each one as a garden. They are occupied by families in the employ of the Community. The tenants are not of the Elect, but belong to the outside world, not having yet risen into the mysteries of Free Love.

The barns and stables lie near the mansion, and are substantially built. The Saints own about 25 horses, which are quartered in the "Horse Barn." They are fine draught animals, and fully justify the enthusiasm of the young man who drove me over from Oneida, who told me that they were "among the best horses in the county." The cattle-barn, a little farther on, is a large and rather unique affair, designed with many conveniences to serve the demands of a large farm. Seventy cattle are generally kept here, a large proportion of which are pure-bred Ayrshires. The product of the dairy is about 33,000 gallons of milk per year.

The barberry-hedge is extensively cultivated, and adds much to the appearance of the farm. The Saints are very proud of their hedges, and keep them in excellent condition.

Formerly the Community were compelled to send all their produce to Oneida for shipment, and to receive their supplies in the same way. Now, the Midland Railway, with its station on the farm, will afford them the means of communicating directly with the outer world. Doubtless this will put the Oneida people to some loss, as the Community will not be so dependent upon that village as in years past.

CHAPTER V.

THE WILLOW PLACE BRANCH.

The Manufacturing Department.—How Travelling-Satchels are Made.—Value of the Business.—The Willow Place Community.—A Branch Paradise.—The Rotation System.—The Machine-Shops.—Sewell Newhouse, the Canadian Trapper.—Becomes a Saint and Invents a "Perfect" Trap.—Success of the Invention.—Rapid Sale of the Oneida Trap.—It becomes the Chief Source of the Wealth of the Community.—Statistics of Trap-Making.—Causes of the Financial Prosperity of the Community.—The Silk-Works.—The Oneida Machine-Twist.—Success of the Business.—How Silk-Twist is made.—The Work-rooms.—Gentile Employés.—Contrast between the Village Girls and Female Saints.—The Dyeing and Finishing Departments.—The Ribbon Works.—The Foundry.—Value of the Manufacturing Interests of the Community.—Noyes' Theory of Success in Coöperative Experiments.—The Printing Department.

The principal manufacturing establishment of the Community is at Willow Place. Here are the foundry, the machine-shops, and the larger part of the silk-works. At the "Home" place are located the finishing department of the silk-works and the travelling-satchel factory. The latter is a very profitable branch of the industry of the Community, and turns out about $35,000 worth of goods annually. These satchels are neat and well made, and often employ a very large number of the Saints in their manufacture. In fair weather the workers frequently assemble around the rustic summer-house on the lawn, and,

with Father Noyes at their head, organize a "working-bee," at which a considerable quantity of work is done.

The Willow Place Community is a branch of the parent organization, and is located at this point for the sake of utilizing the water-power here. It having been found inconvenient for the members employed in the machine-shops here to return to the "Home" every evening, and it being still more inconvenient for them to be without their Eves in their branch Paradise, a dwelling was established here, and a number of female Saints quartered in it. The colony now numbers about thirty-five of both sexes. The dwelling is convenient, but not equal to the "Home." All the business of this branch is transacted through the "Home" office, and the members are constantly "visiting" back and forth—that is, the women are changed as often as the fancies of the Saints require such a step.

The machine-shops are large, and provided with every thing necessary for the manufacture of the famous Oneida Community trap. Much of the machinery is the invention of the Saints, and must therefore be regarded as "perfect" after its kind.

One of the first, and by far the most valuable (in a pecuniary sense) of Noyes' converts, was Sewell Newhouse, a Canadian trapper, who, having grown tired of his hardy and venturesome life in the backwoods, concluded that it would be very pleasant to settle down in the midst of a Community founded upon such free principles. Having had considerable

experience in the art of catching vermin of all kinds, from the big grizzly down to the meek little mouse, Brother Newhouse was well aware of the defects in the old-fashioned traps which came from over the Rhine. What was needed in that article was simplicity and lightness of construction, combined with a more deadly spring. Brother Newhouse believed that he could remedy the defects in the German trap, which was then in general use in America, and produce a "perfect" article, which should also be cheaper than that from over the Rhine; and he set to work to do this. He was successful, and his trap began to attract universal attention. From Madison County the fame of it spread over the whole country, and orders for it began to pour in. The facilities of the Community for manufacturing it were at first limited, but these have grown with the popularity of the trap, until now the Willow Place factory is valued at thirty thousand dollars, and the improvements which have been added to it at twenty thousand dollars more. The establishment is under the control of Brother Newhouse. During the last ten years about 2,000,000 traps have been made and sold, completely driving the German article out of the market. One hundred and fourteen thousand dollars were received for traps in 1869. In one year, the profits from the sales reached eighty thousand dollars; and, at present, the traps yield an aggregate annual profit of about fifteen thousand dollars. This is the chief source of the wealth of the Community; and it is to the skill of Brother Newhouse, and not to the merits of commun-

ism, that the Saints owe their marked success. There can be little doubt that, if they had not been able to control this patented article—an article of prime necessity—their experiment at association would have proved a disastrous failure; for they were on the road to ruin when Newhouse came to their rescue with his trap.

The silk-works are, as yet, in their infancy, the manufacture being at present confined to "machine-twist," and a few experiments in black ribbon. In their advertisement, the Saints say of their "machine-twist": "The reputation which this silk has gained among practical manufacturers, as well as in multitudes of private households, renders any particular statement of its merits unnecessary. The Community attempted to make a good, honest thread, and it is believed they have succeeded. It is made on new machinery, of the best Tsatlee stock, and is warranted to hold out in weight and length. It is put up in various-sized spools, each spool giving the quantity of silk on its label."

This boast of success is not unwarranted. The silk made here is of an excellent quality, and is very popular with those who desire strength and durability. It is largely used by manufacturers of shoes and clothing. Mr. Allen told me the Community are so much encouraged by the success they have met with, that they contemplate enlarging their works. At present they sell all they can make as soon as it is put in the market, and the demand for it is growing. The Saints have been engaged in selling silk for six-

teen years, and it was the success they met with in this department that induced them, four years ago, to undertake the manufacture of the article.

The silk-works are located in the upper portion of the machine-shops, and employ seventy-five females, nearly all of them girls. These are not Free-Lovers, but are residents of Oneida, and are brought from their homes to the factory every morning, and sent back every evening, by the wagons of the Community. They are a neat, bright-looking set, and decidedly more attractive in person than the Saints for whom they work. They receive from $4.50 to $7 per week, and declare they are very well pleased with their positions. Indeed, all with whom I conversed assured me that the Saints are both liberal and punctual in the matter of wages. The girls are under the superintendence of Miss Emma Jones, a member of the Community.

The raw silk is imported by the Community, and brought in the original package to these works. Here it is cleaned and wound. Nine cleaners and ten winders are in use, and about fifteen thousand yards of silk are usually on the winders. The machinery is moved by water-power, and is of an excellent description. About sixty thousand dollars is invested in the silk manufacture, and last year the sales reached the sum of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars.

The silk, after being cleaned and wound, is sent over to the finishing department at the "Home." Here it is taken to the "dye-rooms," and given the

color designed for it. This process is conducted under the supervision of Dr. Noyes, who is assisted by a number of the male and female members of the Community. The dyes are imparted by the analine process, the colors being derived from coal-tar. The patent is English. Dr. Noyes told me that these colors were the best he had ever seen, but that there were frequent cases of adulteration, and that there was no means of detecting the foreign material except by the failure of the dyeing process. The gum is boiled off the silk, and it is then dyed in the colors intended for it. It is the work of a few hours only to dye the fancy silks, but the black requires several days. Forty-eight different colors of fancy silks are made, and three shades of black.

From the dye-room the silk is taken to the spooling-room, where it is submitted to the final process of winding on spools for the market. This, with the dye-room, is located in the brick building in the rear of the Community mansion. Here the finished silk is first transferred by a winding-machine to "bobbins," and then, by a dozen hands, mostly of young women, seated at spooling-machines, is deftly wound on spools, ready for the market. One or two of the women employed in this department are old and ugly, and the hideous Bloomer dress worn by them gives them an infinitely ludicrous appearance. The spools are now ready for the market, and are packed in an adjoining room, where orders of a certain size are shipped. Kelley's patent case, an ingenious invention of one of the Saints, for displaying the entire contents at once,

is thrown in, I believe. The effect of the various colors and shades of color, as displayed in this case, is very brilliant, and is richly worth examination by the visitor.

The ribbon department is small, as yet, only two or three looms being in operation. Some experiments have been made in the manufacture of dress-goods in black silk, but, thus far, no very decided success has been achieved.

The *foundry* is located on the creek that runs through the farm, and about a quarter of a mile above Willow Place. It is situated on a fine water-power, and is kept busy making castings for the machine-shops, and in filling orders for the merchants and farmers of the vicinity.

The manufactories belonging to the Community are valued at over $200,000, and are increasing in value every year. This manufacturing interest, which originated with Newhouse's traps, has been the mainstay of the Community. Mr. Noyes regards it as the only true source of wealth for any organization of this kind. In a recent work, while discussing the causes of the failure of the many communistic experiments in this country, nearly all of which invested their wealth in land, he says: "We should have advised the phalanxes to limit their land investments to a minimum, and put their strength, as soon as possible, into some form of manufacture. Almost any kind of a factory would be better than a farm for a Community nursery."

The Community have been, for several years, en-

gaged in the publication of a weekly newspaper called *The Circular*, which will be noticed more at length further on. The publication-office is located at the Oneida Community. The printing-office is located in the building which contains the kitchen and the finishing-rooms of the silk-works. The type-setting is done by females, and the printing is done by means of a small hand-press. The paper being small in size, and its circulation limited, the office is very modest in its appointments, and but a moderate amount of capital is invested in it.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WALLINGFORD BRANCH.

The Village of Wallingford.—The Community Farm.—The Buildings.—A Change Contemplated.—Internal Arrangements.—The Community Printing-Office.—Statistics of the Business.—Character of the Work.—Female Compositors.—Reasons for Success.—The Silk-Works.—The Employés.—Superiority of the Village Girls.—Quinnipiac River.—A Bathing Scene.—Males and Females enjoy the Sport together.—A Shameless Group.—A Sudden Interruption.—The Community Farm.—A Lovely View.—Excellent System of Agriculture.—The Vineyard.—Contrast between the Place and its Occupants.—Mr. Jocelyn.—System of Constant Visiting kept up between the Oneida and Wallingford Communities.—Reasons for it.

The little town of Wallingford, in New Haven County, Connecticut, is one of the brightest, prettiest villages in the "land of steady habits." It is twelve miles to the northeast of the city of New Haven, and on the line of the railway from that city to Hartford.

About half a mile west of the station, on the slopes of Mount Tom, the Oneida Saints have established a branch paradise, known as the Wallingford Community. The place may be reached from the railway by a carriage-road—vehicles for hire being always at hand in the village—or by a shorter path across the fields. I chose the latter, and arrived at the Community buildings in about fifteen minutes.

The Wallingford Community was established in

its present location in 1851. It consists of about 48 members, and owns about 250 acres of land. The business of the establishment combines printing in several of its higher branches, spinning the raw silk into thread preparatory to dyeing it, and the cultivation of the land.

The buildings are of wood, and are not as handsome or commodious as those of the parent establishment at Oneida. The Saints contemplate removing them and supplying their place with a large mansion, similar to that at Oneida. As I came up the slope of the hill, I passed first the stable and barn, which, though small, were well kept, and supplied with most of the conveniences needed in such an establishment. A public road passes between and separates the stables from the Community buildings, which stand on a gentle slope, and are enclosed with a neat picket fence. At the first glance, there is nothing to distinguish these buildings from an ordinary farm-house. Every thing has a more private appearance than at Oneida. The main edifice is simply a neat cottage, of medium size, with a long extension in the rear. To the right of this is the printing-office—a two-story frame house, very much like a country school-house in its external appearance. The yard is prettily laid out.

The living-apartments and meeting-room, or family hall, are in the main building. The kitchen and dining-room are in the extension. The household arrangements are conducted on a plan similar to that pursued at Oneida, and which I have already laid before the

reader. The Wallingford establishment, being much younger, and, financially, less prosperous than the parent Community, has not as many evidences of wealth about it, or even as many substantial comforts. Every thing is simpler and plainer. The library is located in the printing-office building, and is contained in a small and plain apartment. It comprises but a few hundred volumes, if so many; these being similar in character to those I have spoken of in connection with Brother Pitt's collection.

The printing-office is supplied with almost every thing necessary to the "printer's art." It began as a job-office on a small scale, and has grown into an establishment of considerable dimensions. Formerly only job-work was done; but now the Saints are undertaking book-work in all its departments. They have, as yet, no stereotype foundry, but I was told that, if their business should justify it, they will establish one in a year or two. Stitching and binding pamphlets is done on the place; but binding in cloth or leather is given by them to some of the Gentile establishments in New York. The office consists of a large, well-lighted and ventilated composing-room on the first floor, and a press-room in an adjoining apartment. Besides proof and hand presses, there are three cylinder presses in the establishment, the motive-power of which is furnished by a caloric engine. Should this branch of their business grow to an extent sufficient to justify the outlay, the Saints contemplate making use of a fine water-power close by. The composition is done by females, the most of whom

are young women, and the presses are fed by girls. The press-room is presided over by an old worker in this department, who was famous for his skill in this wicked world long before he decided to become a Saint. The entire establishment is under the management of Mr. Jocelyn, who impressed me as more of an amateur than a practical printer. Every thing is very neat and clean, and I was agreeably impressed with the system and order which seemed to reign in every particular.

The Saints do good work. Their job-printing will compare favorably with any the writer has ever seen; and their principal achievement thus far—the "History of American Socialisms, by J. H. Noyes," which was set up and printed here—would do credit to any office in the country. Their prices are very much cheaper than those of the Eastern cities, and this draws to them a constant supply of orders. As they pay their compositors only their board and clothing, which are of the simplest and cheapest description, they are, of course, able to do work, and even to make large profits, at a low scale of prices. They have not the difficulties to contend with that so frequently embarrass Gentile offices. Their workwomen belong to no "Union," and never strike for higher wages; thus saving them the necessity for sudden and often injurious changes in their scale of prices. As they do not, like the mass of female compositors, regard their business as only a means of support until they can marry, they have no inducement to become careless in their work. They know

that this must be the business of a lifetime, and therefore strive for proficiency.

The silk-works are located within a stone's throw of the railway, about five minutes' walk from the station, and are separated from the Community farm by the Quinnipiac river, the water of which furnishes the motive-power for the machinery. Here the raw silk is spun into threads, and then sent to Oneida to be dyed and finished. The works are presided over by a female Saint, short, dumpy, with a coarse but good-natured face, and an unmistakable New England twang. The women and girls employed in the factory are, as at Oneida, residents of the village. They are fair specimens of the working-girl class of Connecticut, and, if I may judge from outward appearances, vastly superior, in personal attractions, to the female Saints on the hill above them. Their hands were hard and rough, their faces frequently plain, and their dress simple; but there was a native modesty, a sweet womanliness about them, which I have yet to see in any of the perfect creatures in short skirts and breeches.

A carpenter-shop, for the repairing of the machinery, is located in one part of the basement of the factory, and the rest of this floor is occupied by the laundry. This department is somewhat smaller than the Oneida laundry, but is arranged and managed on the same plan. It is presided over by a female Saint of mature years, and the work is done by hired help. The factory buildings are about a quarter of a mile distant from the residence, and are reached by means

of a foot-path through the farm, and a rustic bridge over the Quinnipiac river. It is but a ten-minutes' walk from the residence to the Silk-Works, and the Saints can traverse the entire distance on their own land, and without being required to subject themselves to the gaze of the outside world.

The Quinnipiac flows just at the base of the hill on which the dwelling is located, and separates the farm from the Gentile lands. It is here a mere creek, and but a few feet deep; but the water is as clear as crystal, and the bed of the stream is hard and gravelly. A rich undergrowth borders each bank, and numerous swamp-willows, bending far over the stream, afford a delightful shade. Just above the little bridge is a fine bathing-place, of which the Saints are said to make a good use.

This brings to my mind an incident related to me by the young man who drove my carriage over to the Community from the village of Oneida. "About two years ago," said he, "a party of six of us young fellows started out from the village, one Sunday afternoon, to gather grapes, which grow in great quantities not far from here. On the way we had to pass the creek which flows through the Community farm, and as the evening was warm, we decided to stop and bathe before going farther. It was near sunset, and a first-rate time for going in the water, and we were soon undressed, and enjoying the sport. Just above us was a deeper portion of the creek, which was partially cut off from our view by some trees which grew at the water's edge. We moved gradually up towards

this spot, and as we came in full view of it, saw a sight that astonished us. About half a dozen Free Lovers, men and women, were bathing in the creek, and they were all as naked as when they came into the world. As we had been pretty quiet, they had not noticed us, and we now came on them entirely unseen. I at once called out to them, and asked if we might join them, and the rest of us burst into a yell of laughter. They saw us now for the first time, and, without making us any reply, dashed out of the water and took to the bushes, where we did not think it prudent to follow them."

I questioned the young man closely to ascertain if he spoke the truth, but he stoutly held to his story, and I was forced to believe him. There was nothing improbable in the statement. The Saints, having set aside all decency in their way of living, would see no harm in such a scene as that the young man described.

The Community farm comprises about two hundred and fifty acres of land lying on the slopes of Mount Tom. It is mostly open, but there is wood enough for the purposes of the place. The soil is not as good as that of the Oneida farm, though the farm itself is more attractive to the eye, but it is good land for this section of the country, and the careful cultivation to which it is subjected has made it fully equal to any thing around it. One cannot help being struck with the neatness of the farm. There is no trash lying around; the eye is pained by no unsightly heaps; but the whole domain is as clean and free from litter as the yard surrounding the Home.

The Saints are giving considerable attention to the culture of the grape here. A fine vineyard stands on the slope of the hill just below the residence, and a little to the left of it. It is admirably located, and seemed to me to be kept with considerable skill. The orchards are comparatively young, but are excellent, doubtless affording the Saints a fine opportunity for gratifying their fondness for fruit. Sheep-raising is carried on to a limited extent, the grassy hillside forming the best of grazing-grounds.

Altogether, it is as attractive a farm as New England can boast. The location is very much prettier than that of the Oneida Community. When I first saw the place, the Spring was just clothing the ground with verdure; and as I stood at the gate of the "Home" yard, I beheld a lovely sight indeed. The hillside and the valley below were bright with the young grass and the growing crops, and on every side of me sparkled millions of buttercups and wild violets. The apple-trees were white with their blossoms, and the grounds of the residence were full of flowers of every hue. The air was heavy with the rich breath of the Spring, and the birds were singing in every tree. Below me shone the bright thread of the river, and beyond it was the pretty village of Wallingford, lying back among its stately elms.

Every inanimate thing around me spoke of purity and beauty; but the men and women moving about so briskly, and seemingly unconscious of my presence, with all their efforts to seem holy and spiritual, shocked and pained me by the gross, sensual expres-

sion of their countenances. Nature spoke to me of something better than fallen humanity; the very appearance of these people suggested something worse.

The Community is, in effect, presided over at present by Mr. Jocelyn—a tall, ungainly-looking man, with a coarse, sensual face; a face, however, which, it seemed to me, a life of purity might have ennobled. He did not strike me as a man of much intellectual force; but the members of the Community seemed to look up to him with considerable respect. Mr. Noyes pays frequent visits to this establishment, as do the other leading members of the Oneida Community. This constant intercourse between the members of the various branches is absolutely essential to the success of Noyes' scheme, which would be to some extent frustrated were they total or even partial strangers to each other. Practically, the Communities at Oneida and Wallingford are one, I was told; but I could not help noticing that the Wallingford people are very anxious to disconnect their establishment from the parent organization, in telling what has been accomplished by them. In the remainder of this book the two Communities will be spoken of as one institution, all comments and statements applying with equal force to both.

CHAPTER VII.

FINANCIAL HISTORY.

Pecuniary Success of the Saints.—Mr. Noyes' Account of the Financial Operations of the Oneida Community.—Products of the various Branches of Industry.—Amount of Labor performed by the Members.—Profits of the Establishment.—Early Losses Repaired.—Statement of Earnings.—Estimate of the Amount necessary to Support and Clothe each Saint.—Amount and Character of Food Consumed.—Interesting Statistics.

As a pecuniary investment, the Oneida Community is a decided success. The Saints have not only recovered from their early losses, but have steadily increased their wealth from year to year. Their financial history is thus summed up by Mr. Noyes, in his "History of American Socialisms."

"The Oneida Community has two hundred and two members, and two affiliated societies—one of forty members, at Wallingford, Connecticut, and one of thirty-five members, at Willow Place, on a detached part of the Oneida domain. This domain consists of six hundred and sixty-four acres of choice land, and three excellent water-powers. The manufacturing interest here created is valued at over $200,000. The Wallingford domain consists of two hundred and

twenty-eight acres, with a water-power, a printing-office, and a silk-factory. The three Community families (in all two hundred and seventy-seven persons) are financially and socially a unit. . . .

"The extent and variety of industrial operations at the Oneida Community may be seen in part by the following statistics from the report of last year (1868):

No. of steel traps manufactured during the year	278,000	
" packages of preserved fruits	104,458	
Amount of raw silk manufactured	4,664	lbs.
Iron cast at the foundry	227,000	"
Lumber manufactured at saw-mill	305,000	feet.
Product of milk from the dairy	31,143	gallons.
" hay on the domain	300	tons.
" potatoes	800	bushels.
" strawberries	740	"
" apples	1,450	"
" grapes	9,631	lbs.

Stock on the farm, 93 cattle and 25 horses. Amount of teaming done, valued at $6,260.

"In addition to these, many branches of industry necessary for the convenience of the family are pursued, such as shoemaking, tailoring, dentistry, &c. The cash business of the Community during the year, as represented by its receipts and disbursements, was about $575,000. Amount paid for hired labor, $34,000. Family expenses (exclusive of domestic labor by the members, teaching, and work in the printing-office), $41,533.43.

"The amount of labor performed by the Community members during the year was found to be approximately as follows:

	Number.	Amt. of labor per day.
Able-bodied men	80	7 hours.
" women	84	6 " 40 min.
Invalid and aged men	6	3 " 40 "
Boys	4	3 " 40 "
Invalid and aged women	9	1 " 20 "
Girls	2	1 " 20 "

"This is exclusive of care of children, school-teaching, printing and editing *The Circular*, and much head-work in all departments.

"Taking 304 days for the working year, we have, as a product of the above figures, a total of 35,568 days' work, at ten hours each. Supposing this labor to be paid at the rate of $1.50 per day, the aggregate sum for the year would be $53,352. By comparing this with the amount of family expenses—$41,533.43—we find, at the given rate of wages, a surplus of profit amounting to $11,818.57, or 33 cents profit for each person per day. This represents the saving which ordinary unskilled labor would make by means of the mere economy of association. . . . Labor in the Community, being principally of the higher class, is proportionately rewarded, and, in fact, earns much more than $1.50 per day.

"The entire financial history of the Community is, in brief, the following: it commenced business at its present location in 1848, but did not adopt the practice of taking annual inventories till 1857. Of the period between these dates we can give but a general account. The Community, in the course of that period, had five or six branches, with common interests, scattered in several States. The Property Register,

kept from the beginning, shows that the amount of property brought in by the members of all the Communities, up to January 1, 1857, was $107,706.45. But the amount held at Oneida at that date, as stated in the first regular inventory, was only $41,740; and the branch Communities at Putney, Wallingford, and elsewhere, at the same time had only $25,532.22. So that the total assets of the associate Communities were $67,272.22, or $40,434.23 less than the amount brought in by the members. In other words, between the years 1848 and 1857, the associated Communities sunk (in round numbers) $40,000. Various causes may be assigned for this, such as inexperience, lack of established business, persecution and extortions, the burning of the Community store, the sinking of the sloop Rebecca Ford in the Hudson river, the maintenance of an expensive printing family at Brooklyn, the publication of a free paper, &c.

"In the course of several years previous to 1857, the Community worked out of the policy of living in scattered detachments, and concentrated its forces at Oneida and Wallingford. From the 1st of January, 1857, when its capital was $41,740, to the present time, the progress of its money-matters is recorded in the following statistics, drawn from its annual inventories:

In 1857, net earnings	.....	$5,470.11
1858, "	.....	1,763.60
1859, "	.....	10,278.38
1860, "	.....	15,611.03
1861, "	.....	5,877.89
1862, "	.....	9,859.78

In 1863, net earnings		$44,755.30
1864,	"	61,382.62
1865,	"	12,382.81
1866,	"	13,198.74

"Total net earnings in ten years, $180,580.26; being a yearly average income of $18,058.02, above all expenses. The succeeding inventories show the following results:

Net earnings in	1867	$21,416.02
"	1868	55,100.83
"	1869	30,920.55

Being an average, for the last three years, of $35,812.46 per annum."

This is as authoritative and as fair a showing of the finances of the Community as can be made.

Mr. Noyes estimates the average cost—that is, the personal expenses—of each member of the Community as follows:

Per Individual.	Per Week.	Per Year.
Food	$1.66	$86.44
Clothing	.68	35.18
Boots and shoes	.13	6.70
Washing	.14	7.22
Other items	.92	47.79
	$3.53	$183.33

This estimate is merely for the raw material, and does not include the cost of the labor performed in washing, cooking, and making clothing and shoes; and, even at this, the estimate does not fairly cover the necessities of an individual of refinement and cultivation.

The following is a list of the table expenses of the Community for a part of a year, and will give the reader a fair idea of the tastes of the Saints in this respect:

Flour and meal	$2,245.27
Sugar and syrup	3,312.04
Butter	3,346.07
Suet	71.57
Vegetables	2,530.24
Milk	2,532.32
Cheese	296.25
Meat and poultry	691.75
Eggs	443.84
Fish (including shell-fish)	391.57
Fruits	1,730.39
" preserved	2,456.84

CHAPTER VIII.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION.

A Miniature World Upside Down.—The Pentecostal Method.—No Personal Possessions allowed here.—The Property Register and its Uses.—True Character of the Establishment.—Not a Stock Company.—No Dividends.—What is done with the Profits.—Business Organization.—The Business Board and its Duties.—Who are Members of it.—How it Controls the Community.—Real Character of the Establishment.—Meetings of the Board.—Power without Responsibility.—An Ingenious Device.—Arrangement of Labor.—The Organizing Committee.—The Standing Committee and its Duties.—John H. Noyes the real Head of the Community.—His Tact and Skill in Management.—Labor not Compulsory, but Idleness Punished with Expulsion.—The Variety System.—"Jack of All Trades and Master of None."—Views of *The Circular* upon the System.—Experience of Constance Noyes.—Satisfaction of the Saints with their System.—A Formal Showing of the Benefits of Communism.—What its Disciples Claim for it.

The Oneida Community (and in this general term is included the Wallingford and Willow Place branches) constitute a world of their own. At the outset they cast behind them every form and observance of society in their organization and domestic concerns, and arranged their affairs according to what is termed by them the "Pentecostal model," which is set forth in the passage of Scripture which declares that, on the day of Pentecost, "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither

said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common." The original members threw all their possessions into a common fund, and each new convert is required to contribute all his worldly goods to the same fund. No one has an exclusive right to any thing. A man cannot be said to own his hat, coat, or boots in this establishment. These articles are the common property of the Saints, and the wearer is merely allowed the use of them. The contributions of each member to the common fund are entered in a register kept for that purpose. Should the member decide to abandon the Community, his property, or an amount in money equivalent to it, is returned to him; but no allowance is made for the increase of his possessions in the hands of the Community, the Saints taking the ground that his share of the profits of the concern had been consumed in his support. There is a free interchange of men and means between the different Communities, and no accounts (except for purposes of information) are kept between the several Communities, or the members of the same Community.

The Community is not a joint stock company. There is no division of profits. It is held to be the duty of every member to make his individual expenses as light as possible; and those having the charge of the general expenditures of the establishment are enjoined to practise the most rigid economy. Every effort is made to increase the annual profits of the concern, but the amount so accruing is not paid

out in dividends to the members. It is the possession of the Community as a whole, and is either held as a reserve fund, or is used for increasing the manufacturing capacity of the Community, for the purchase of more land, for the erection of new buildings, or for the improvement of those already in use.

The business organization of the Community is simple. The general supervision of affairs is confided to a Business Board, who are equivalent to a Board of Directors. This Board consists of the heads of the several industrial departments, and such others as choose to attend its sessions. It is presided over by a chairman, and its proceedings are carefully recorded in a journal by a secretary. "All the members of the Community," says the "Hand-Book," "are free to participate in the deliberations of this Board, and it is a limited body only because all who are not especially interested in managing generally choose to stay away." The sentiment of the Community is against any interference by members in the action of this Board, which by custom has come to be absolute in the management of the business affairs of the Community. It is composed of the best business men in the place, and is really the "brains" of the establishment. It controls every thing, its recommendations having the force of decrees; so that the management of the Community's business is conducted exactly like that of any corporate institution. The Board controls every thing. The rest of the Saints execute the several tasks assigned them like so many paid laborers. They have no care, no responsibility: all that falls upon the

Board. Thus it will be seen that the Community is managed upon the soundest and most approved business principles, and that it owes its success to them, and not to any intrinsic merit of Communism.

The Board meets once a week, and its proceedings are read by the secretary to the entire family in the social hall, on the evening following the meeting, and opportunity is then given for discussion of any measure resolved upon by the Board. In this way, says the "Hand-Book," "business matters are frequently referred for discussion and decision by the Board to the general meeting; so that constant communication is kept up between the Board and the mass of the Community. There are no secret sessions. Every thing is free, open, democratic." These discussions are mere forms, but are very satisfactory to the Board. The decisions of that body are, as a rule, always sanctioned by the family, and the Board is thus enabled to retain the absolute control of the establishment, and, at the same time, to shift the responsibility of their acts on to the shoulders of the family. Should any Saint prove refractory, and insist upon opposing the action of the Board, he is denounced as "not in sympathy with the family," and is criticised into submission. The members of the Board are shrewd enough to adopt any suggestion that commends itself to their judgment, so that the general discussion may, in this way, be said to accomplish some good, after all.

In the early Spring of each year, a special session of the Business Board is called, for maturing plans for the business operations of the ensuing year, and for

organizing the forces of the season. Previous to the meeting, a conspicuous bulletin invites every one to hand in a written slip, stating the department of business he or she prefers to engage in. These slips are submitted by the Board to an Organizing Committee, who select foremen for the different departments of business, and apportion the help, keeping in view as much as possible the expressed choice of individuals. Their plan is submitted to the Board for approval or amendment, and also to the family in general assembly. Still further, a Standing Committee is appointed at the annual meeting, consisting of two or three persons of approved judgment, whose duty it is to have a general oversight of all the businesses, and transfer hands from one department to another, as the fluctuations of business or the improvement of individuals may require.

The real head of the Community is John Humphrey Noyes. His keen intellect and strong will make themselves visible in every department. Had he devoted himself to business, instead of free love, he would have risen to eminence as a merchant; and, as it is, he has carried the qualities necessary to such an achievement with him into his Community. Of course, he does not make his power visible in all cases. He has mastered the art of so controlling his disciples, that they think they are carrying out their own ideas, when they are really executing his designs. So great is his influence over his followers, that they regard him as an inspired being, and really prefer to be guided by him than to follow their own desires.

His will is supreme, and he can always reckon with certainty upon a sufficient number of devoted adherents to enable him to "criticise" his opponents into submission.

The members of the Community assured me that labor was not compulsory, no one being compelled by any law in this Eden. At the same time, they added that the Community is no place for an idle person. The idler is soon made to feel that he is out of sympathy with the other Saints, and can only regain his happy state by cultivating habits of industry. The aim is to make labor attractive, and a means of improvement; and I was assured that this is found compatible with good and industrious habits. The members occasionally exchange employments, and many of them are proficient in several trades. This diversity of skill may be advantageous in some instances, but I may be permitted to doubt its general excellence. In spite of the assertions of the Saints to the contrary, it would seem to me to make them "Jacks of all trades and masters of none." Mr. Noyes has been very energetic in putting his faith in this diversity of talent into practice. He has himself been a farmer, gardener, brick-mason, job printer, bag-maker, tinker, editor, steward, blacksmith, trapper, and inventor. His example is followed by his associates, and thus far, they maintain, with beneficial results.

The domestic arrangements are also conducted upon the rotation principle; and upon this point *The Circular* discourses as follows:

"'How do you manage your housework?' the

visitor asks. 'Every thing seems to be done; but how is it done? You, madam, receive company; but who does the kitchen-work? There are no servants in the house, you say; but who does the drudgery? Do you all work so many hours? How do you contrive to keep any equality?' 'Well, we are not very anxious to keep equality; we *pity* any one that does not love to be useful; but so far as equality is desirable, it is secured by *rotation*. Variety, which is a greater object with us than equality, is secured by the same principle. We have officers that we call mothers of the work—usually two, chosen by unanimous vote—trustworthy women, to whom is committed the whole dispensation of in-door work. They arrange it once a week. Not that they revise the whole programme so often, but they consult every Sunday, and make more or less individual changes.

"There are five principal departments—the children's house, the kitchen, the printing-office, the spooling-room, and chores (the last including dining-room work, dish-washing, care of rooms, &c.)—in which to make changes. Each of these departments has a permanent head—that is, one who has general charge or supervision for a year, or a term of years; but the subordinates are constantly changing.

"Constance, for instance, healthy and ambitious, works in the printing-office a month, or three months, or six months even, if she does not get tired. Her hours here are from seven to eleven in the forenoon, five days in a week. Besides, she waits on the table at supper, or does some other light chore. Then,

when she wants a change, or it is convenient to put some one in her place, she goes to the children's house, perhaps. This is her pet work. There she must be on hand to help dress the children by six o'clock in the morning, and stay to-day till one o'clock. To-morrow she goes at one and stays till seven, or till the little ones are all in bed. She is there the forenoon of one day and the afternoon of the next. Her term is indefinite; but when, for any reason, a change is desirable, you may find her, perchance, in the kitchen. There she has to work a half day; is let off perhaps an hour, to go to a class; but has to take her turn with the corps in getting up early to cook breakfast, and in staying late for stragglers to supper. She will serve there three or four weeks, and then be glad of a change. The silk-room is more attractive, and, for a while, she will enjoy spooling the beautiful hues, as much as a lady enjoys her embroidery. Her time there is three or four hours a day (not consecutive), and she may have an additional chore about the house. In the chores, she would perhaps work in the dining-room after breakfast, wash pitchers and tumblers at noon, and silver at night, occupying three hours in all.

"There is no cast-iron about this system of rotation. The mothers use all judgment in assigning work, having reference always to age, strength, and inclination. There are numerous exemptions. Some have no allotted work, but are excellent volunteers, and help do the thousand unmentionable little offices which go to make a cheerful home.

"The departments referred to do not include all

the in-door industry which is subject to rotation. There is the sewing-machine to be kept running; and here we have frequent changes, as the work is monotonous and wearing. The office of librarian is more permanent, and the book-keeping retains one set two and three years. The florists make a summer's work of it. Mrs. S. has had the charge of the bedding (in the house, not in the garden) for two or three years; Miss T. has made the pickles, &c.

"Frequent changes keep the appetite fresh, and the enthusiasm of new hands always enlivens a group.

"Persons develop faculties and gifts in the career of various departments, and everywhere there is a levelling up to the standard of the best. In a company of a hundred there will be housewifery excellence of every kind, and the highest excellence will inevitably become the standard, in the cooking, in cleanliness, in taste, in the whole domestic order."

The Saints, having won material success, are delighted with their system, and declare emphatically that its merits ought to be self-evident to all observers. *The Circular* thus indicates some of its benefits, which are cheerfully admitted in the case of this particular organization:

"The advantages of the large family which strike the observer at the very outset, are:

"1. That its dwelling is well heated.

"2. That it has good cooking.

"3. That it has abundance of fruit.

"4. That it is exceedingly cleanly.

"5. That it is exempt from 'washing-day.'

"Take these things in their order. In common houses heated by stoves, there will be perhaps two or three rooms over-warm, while the chambers and rest of the house are places of shivering cold.

"Now, in the Community dwelling, there is an area of half an acre (including all floors) from which winter is excluded. Go where you will, from cellar to attic is the same even summer temperature; and this *without having the care and dust of a single stove.* All is done by a steam-heating apparatus attended by a single man.

"One of the best things in life is wholesome cooking. Sour bread, heavy biscuts, stale butter, and greasy meat, are a grief to the much-enduring stomach of man. Whether such things exist or not in isolated households, we cannot positively say; our suspicion is that they sometimes invade the small dining-room. But when you come to cook for two hundred, it is a different thing. You have the best skill in the whole body for your standard, and man-power enough to carry it strongly through. The consequence is, that your bread is superb, your soup and omelet are unexceptionable; your dinner is on the table at the minute, and is never a botch.

"Abundance of fruit, which to the single household is costly and difficult of attainment, in the large family is almost a matter of course. Besides the stores of preserved fruits of every description, which are always at the command of the kitchen department, open baskets of red-cheeked apples stand here and

there in the passages all winter long, for the free use of those who will take them.

"As to cleanliness, the large family cannot fail to have this virtue. All dirt-making processes are restricted and reduced to a minimum. The taste of the neatest prevails, and united strength makes short work with rubbish.

"In the large family, the periodical washing, that goblin of the ordinary household, is transformed into a jolly, fog-crowned demon, who presides over a suit of steam washing-machines, wringers, and dryers, all in a laundry by himself. All that is known of washing-day, is the return of smooth white garments to you each week. The how and why are concealed, unless you seek them out in the premises devoted to this work.

"These items are, of course, secondary in importance to many others; but still, a gain, even in such every-day matters as warmth, food, cleanliness, and laundry service, tells on the sum-total of mortal happiness."

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNWRITTEN CODE.

A Despotic and Cruel System.—The Principle of Sympathy and its Uses.—Criticism.—A Refinement of Mental Torture.—How the System Operates.—Petty Jealousies.—How Criticism is Directed against Obstinate Saints.—An Aid to Free Love.—A Case in Point.—The Confession of Sydney Jocelyn.—His Tact.—How to Take Criticism.—A Specimen of Free-Love Poetry.—A Test of Moral Courage.—A Cruel and Vindictive Torment.—It is Dreaded by the Saints.—The real Object of Criticism.—A Novel Use for it.—It Cures old Mr. Cragin of a Bad Cold.—A Queer Statement by an old Free Lover.

The means relied upon for the government of this singular assemblage of perfect beings is simple at the first glance, but is really the most artful and despotic system of rule ever devised by man. Professing to be founded in love, it contains an element of cruelty which ought to be foreign to a colony of Saints. The controlling principle is called sympathy, and the office which it holds in the family is very much like that which the world assigns to public opinion. A member may do any thing he likes, for all are free; but he is trained to do every thing in sympathy with the general wish. He must act in accordance with this wish in the minutest particular, from the choice of a

female associate to the selection of a new hat. If the general opinion of the Community is against him, he is clearly wrong, for the family is assumed to be always wiser than the unit, and he must come into sympathy with the Community by submitting to its will. He has no choice. He must do this, or leave the place.

As a means of enforcing this sympathy, the Saints have adopted a system of mutual criticism. This exquisite torture is practised at the daily evening meetings of the family. A person not in sympathy with the Community is warned of his delinquency, and, if his submission is not instant, he is called upon to submit to the criticism of his fellows at the evening meetings. Sometimes a person is criticised by the entire family; at other times by a committee of six, eight, twelve, or more. The torture to which these egotists are thus subjected can hardly be described in words. The Saints are keen judges of character, and study each other with a skill and fidelity which render them proficients in this art. They are expected to be perfectly candid in thus dealing with their fellows, and they do speak out with astonishing frankness. The subject of their remarks is often thunderstruck to find even his secret thoughts penetrated and laid bare by his tormentors. His vanity, his pride, his self-love, even his tenderest feelings, are probed to the quick, and he is made indeed to see himself as others see him. "This system," says Noyes, "takes the place of backbiting in ordinary society." But what danger of backbiting would there be in ordinary society, if men

were permitted to speak thus plainly concerning each other?

The Saints are by no means free from petty jealousies, heartburnings, and malice, and this system of criticism affords them ample opportunities for revenge. Sister A. refuses to accept the advances of Brother B., and, upon the first occasion of her being subjected to criticism, you may be sure Brother B. will not be sparing in his analysis of her character. Or, *vice-versâ*, Sister C., old and ugly, finding Brother D., young and handsome, averse to her society, pours out the vials of her wrath upon his head at his next criticism. The Saints dread the ordeal, and shrink from it to such a degree, that they will submit to almost any thing rather than endure it.

The subject must receive his criticism in silence. Should he submit, he may announce his willingness to do so at the next meeting; but the announcement must be made in writing. An instance of this kind was the case of Sydney Jocelyn, who had manifested too much worldliness to suit the more rigid Saints. Brother Pitt opened the attack, giving a keen analysis of the young man's character, and pointing out, with seeming kindness and very decided frankness, all the evil things he had ever seen in Sydney—his laziness, his sensuality, his love of dress and show, his sauciness of speech, his lack of reverence. Noyes, Hamilton, and Bolls followed, and were equally severe upon the poor fellow. They were succeeded by Sister Jocelyn, Sydney's own mother, who did not spare her son. Then, nearly all the old women opened fire. Sydney,

it seems, had no great fondness for the caresses of the ancient ladies, and this drew down upon him a storm of denunciation. He submitted in silence, and went to his chamber to sleep on the matter. Like a sensible fellow, he "accepted the situation," and, the next evening, sent in the following letter of submission, which was read to the assembled family:

"To THE COMMUNITY:

"I take this occasion to express my thanks for the criticism and advice I received last evening, and for the sincerity that was manifested.

"I wish to thank Mr. Noyes for his sincerity, especially in regard to times long past. I well remember when I felt very near him, and used to converse freely with him; and I consider those my happiest days. I have always regretted my leaving him as I did. I *loved* him, and I am sure that, had I continued with him, I should have been a better man and a greater help to him and the Community. I am certain that my love for him *then* has helped me a great deal *since*, and has been steadily growing ever since, in spite of adverse circumstances; and, in my darkest hours, his spirit shone forth and strengthened me, and helped me to dispel evil spirits. I wish to confess my love for Mr. Hamilton, and my confidence in him as a leader. I thank him sincerely for his long-continued patience with me, and his untiring efforts to bring me near to Christ and the Community.

"I confess Christ the Controller of my tongue, and a spirit of humility. SYDNEY."

It is hard to tell which is the more worthy of admiration—the sensible manner in which Sydney adapts himself to the situation, or the tact with which he seeks to propitiate Noyes and Hamilton, the leading spirits of the Community.

One of the poets of the Community gives the following directions to the Saints as to the best manner of taking criticism:

"When your faults are kindly told you,
Swallow it down;
Don't excuse, or make a pother;
Don't rake up things 'gainst another;
Wisely shut your mouth, and rather
Swallow it down.

"Truth's a splendid appetizer—
Swallow it down;
If you think you're wrongly hit, or
Some things rather snugly fit, or,
In a word, the dose is bitter,
Swallow it down.

"Shirking only makes it harder;
Swallow it down;
Love is in the dreaded potion;
Cured of many a foolish notion,
You will like its inward motion,
When swallowed down."

But criticism is not always used as an instrument of coercion. The Saints frequently request it at the hands of their fellows, in order that they may learn their faults and strive to correct them. "It is regarded," says Noyes, "as one of the greatest means of improvement and fellowship. There is little danger that the general verdict will be unjust. Criticism is an

agency of exposure, of course, and, as such, tests a person's moral courage; but it also often takes the form of commendation, and reveals hidden virtues as well as secret faults. It is always acceptable to those who wish to see themselves as others see them.

"The experience of the Community shows that this method of improvement is effectual. Where it has fair play, it gradually ceases to be needed. There is now but little criticism in the Community compared with what was used in its early years; and, with the young people now growing up, the prospect is that all its severer features will disappear."

According to the Saints, criticism has still greater virtues. The following communication, which appeared in a recent number of *The Circular*, declares it to be a potent medicine. The article is worth inserting here in this connection. It is signed "G. C.," and is doubtless the production of Mr. George Cragin, Sr.:

"O. C., *March* 24, 1870.

"DEAR 'CIRCULAR:' Knowing that you have a partiality for facts of all sorts, and for faith-facts among the rest, I offer the following contribution:

"A few weeks ago I found myself suddenly attacked with a severe cold, which, as is customary in the family, I refused to notice, supposing it would soon pass off if no attention were paid to it. But it didn't pass away; and, upon further acquaintance with the intruder, I discovered it was by no means of an ordinary character, for with the cold I had a troublesome cough and an intermittent fever. My appe-

tite, too, succumbed to the enemy, so that food lost its usual attraction; and, yielding to the feeling that to eat when not hungry would be injurious rather than otherwise, I became indifferent about going to the table at all. For two weeks I was thus tormented; and, seeing that the diabolical spirit of disease was not the least inclined to give up the battle, I felt it my duty to employ more effectual means for its expulsion. Accordingly, I thought of the Criticism-Committee, and, at the close of the evening meeting, notified the members of this '*board of health*' that my case needed looking into, and that I would meet them at nine o'clock the next morning. I had required the aid of criticism so many times, that I felt somewhat ashamed of myself for being obliged to confess my need of it again.

"Promptly the Committee met, and had my case under inspection. As usual in all such committees, the chairman inquired if I had any remarks to make before they proceeded to the business of dissecting me. I replied that I had no particular remarks to make, but thought the truth would be my best help. In turn, each one of the Committee gave his or her medical judgment of the case. Old weaknesses, that I had supposed were thoroughly conquered, were spoken of. My alimentiveness was alluded to, as still producing a slight discord with the family. Starting under inspiration in any work given me to do, and then going on with it after the inspiration had left me, was another weak point. My faults were simply hinted at; my friends assuming, I suppose, that I

ought to be a wise man by this time. The fact is, the kindly feelings, the good will, and the manifest desire to help their brother in affliction, were too much for my naturally self-reliant, independent spirit. My equanimity gave way, so that I had to hurry off to my room to give vent to my feelings and emotions, as I was wont to do when a child.

"A few hours' reflection brought matters to a head. I saw that old Grahamism had been attempting to act as my physician in throwing off my cold, by suggesting two meals, or one meal, a day. My indignation was aroused. I turned the whole *posse* of quack doctors out of my spirit, that had crept in unaware, and said aloud to them, 'No, no; none but Christ shall administer food or medicine to my body or soul.'

"But, in order to give Christ, through his Spirit, a chance to help me, I saw that my first duty was to assume the attitude of a *well man*. I said, therefore, to all the devils that were abusing me, that I was going to the regular meals of the family three times a day, appetite or no appetite. That decision put me into a sweat, and the fever soon left me. When the whistle sounded for dinner, sickness at my stomach remonstrated, but I heeded it not, and went to the table. By the pure force of will I ate something. My name had not been sent in as being on the sick-list, requiring the dainties furnished those whose appetites need tempting, though I had thought of sending it in. After dinner, I felt as though I had fought a battle and won a victory. Before night, particularly just at supper-time, I was again assailed by a high

fever, and pains and aches without number. But my courage had increased. My faith also was strengthened in our pathology—viz., that of ascribing all diseases to spiritual causes—and I felt a determination, given me from above, to fight it out on that line, regardless of the time it might require to win the day. For a week the battle raged between the food on the tables and the devils in my stomach. But at last the enemies were conquered. The cough has left me entirely, and I have not felt so well for months as I do now.

"I have only given an outline-sketch of the facts in my case. The truth given me to take by the Criticising-Committee was as truly a substance taken into my spirit, as a blue-pill taken into my stomach would have been, and acted effectually upon my physical as well as upon my spiritual system. There was no *hocus-pocus* about it. I don't guess, I don't believe—I *know* that the Spirit of truth, the word of God, is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword or visible *materia medica*, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discoverer of the thoughts and intents of the heart. I therefore can, after twenty-five years of experience, reëndorse *truth-telling*, or *Community criticism*, as good for food and good for medicine. It is good for the healthy, to *keep* them well; good for the sick, to make them well; good for the good, to make them better; and good for the discontented, to make them happy. It cures egotism, self-conceit, and all forms of disagreeable diseases resulting from fungus-growth of individual sovereignty."

CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

Perfectionism.—What it is.—Claim of the Oneida Saints to a Religious Foundation.—Sketch of Noyes' Doctrines.—The Second Coming of Christ has already Taken Place.—Its Character Spiritual rather than Physical.—A State of Perfect Holiness open to every Believer.—Man Saved by his own Faith.—Blasphemous Doctrines.—A Sham Religion.—No Need of a Mediator at the Community.—Strange Ideas of God.—Heaven declared to be Governed on the Free-Love Plan.—Religion and Morality Outraged by the Saints.—Filthiness Opposed to True Christianity.—Statement of the Religious Tenets of the Community.

Although living in open violation of the laws of God and of the land, and of what the world regards as morality, the members of the Oneida Community claim that they are justified in the sight of God in their practices, and ought to be held pure by man. In short, they claim that they are the only true Church of Christ on earth. Their peculiar belief they style "Perfectionism."

They say they have no formal creed, but are firmly and unanimously attached to the Bible, as the text-book of the Spirit of truth; to Jesus Christ, as the eternal Son of God; to the apostles and primitive Church, as the exponents of the everlasting gospel.

They believe that the second advent of Christ took place at the period of the destruction of Jerusalem; that, at that time, there was a primary resurrection and judgment in the spiritual world; that the final kingdom of God then began in the heavens; that the manifestation of that kingdom in the visible world is now approaching; that its approach is ushering in the second and final resurrection and judgment; that a Church on earth is now rising to meet the approaching kingdom in the heavens, and to become its duplicate and representative; that inspiration, or open communication with God and the heavens, involving perfect holiness, is the element of connection between the Church on earth and the Church in the heavens, and the power by which the kingdom of God is to be established and reign in the world.

The Saints claim that the Community has its basis in religious ideas. Noyes declares that Communism, as held at Oneida, "cannot for a moment be dissevered from its theology. The two must be considered together, and together stand or fall."

Perfectionism, he argues, is a truth well established by the Saviour's teachings. Among other texts which he quotes in support of his doctrine, is the following: "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin." This he affirms to be a declaration that, if a man commits sin at all, he is in this state of servitude; and that, to be free from such bondage, he must be absolutely sinless. The servant of sin cannot be a Christian. Man may struggle to become free, and due credit will be given him by God for

such struggles; but he has not done his whole duty until he has risen to the highest Christian state of sinlessness. Being sinless, he is, therefore, perfect; and being perfect, he is free from the law. "It is apparent from the passage under consideration," says he, "that the second conversion which is promised to true disciples is nothing less than a deliverance from all sin. When Christ had said to them that believed on Him, 'If ye continue in my word, . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free,' they replied (as persons having a high conceit of their own state naturally would), 'We be Abraham's seed,' (*i. e.*, members of the true Church,) 'and were never in bondage to any man; how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free? He answered, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin;*' *i. e.*, 'Though you are Abraham's seed, the chosen people of God, members of the true Church, externally freemen—though you even believe on me, and have commenced a true discipleship—yet, if you commit sin, the worst of slavery, viz., spiritual bondage, is upon you.' Thus He plainly gave them to understand that when He said, 'Ye shall be made *free*,' He referred to freedom from *sin*. And it is evident He intended freedom from *all sin*, from the obvious and necessary import of the sentence, 'Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.' To say (as some would have it), 'Whosoever committeth sin *habitually* is the servant of sin,' would amount to this: 'Whosoever is the servant of sin, is the servant of sin'—a mere tautology. The interpolation of the

word *habitually*, or of any equivalent word, is wholly unauthorized, unnecessary, and destructive of the force of the passage. Christ's meaning manifestly is, that the commission of sin is proof of a sinful state of heart, and, consequently, of permanent spiritual bondage to sin—a sentiment which the scrutiny of sound theologians always confirms. Entire freedom from sin, then, is the blessing which Christ promises to His true disciples as the effect of their ultimate knowledge of the truth. With any attainment short of this, a man cannot be said to know *the* truth, or to possess the liberty of the gospel. He may be a believer and a true disciple, but he is not, in the highest sense, a Christian. He has not taken the second degree in the gospel, to which the first is only an introduction."

Holiness, says Noyes, was the principal object of the atonement; and it is therefore the duty of every Christian man to attain to this high state. The primitive believers, he asserts, were perfect—that is, they were entirely holy and without sin. St. Paul was the most illustrious example of Perfectionism, in Noyes' estimation; and he quotes at length from his writings, to prove the truth of the doctrine.

It is possible for a man to reach this state of grace, says Noyes. It is the free gift of God, and is within the grasp of every Christian who will avail himself of it. The only thing needful is to have faith. "Only believe," and it is possible. It is not necessary that you should practise good works. Charity will not save you, even though you give your

body to be burned. Prayer is equally useless. "The effectual, fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth" nothing in this case. Faith is the one thing necessary. You stand up in public, by the side of some brother in the Lord, and take upon yourself a profession of Christ. You say you are freed from the power of sin, and the stain is suddenly washed from your soul. "He stood up and confessed holiness"—such is the form of announcing that a lamb has been brought into the fold of Noyes.

It was in this way alone that Noyes and his Saints became perfect. Neither good works nor prayers availed them. They ceased from the latter, and did little of the first. They declared themselves believers in the new doctrine. There was no evidence of their change of heart but their own assertions. They have now no more need of prayer, no more need of a Mediator with God, of sacraments, or of religious observances. They have, by the exercise of faith alone, risen to such a high stage of Christianity that they cannot sin. They are living in a state of perfect holiness. They claim to be pure "even as He is pure." Whatever they do is right. It is impossible for them to sin. Not by Christ's merits, not by virtue of His precious sufferings, have they obtained salvation. They have saved themselves by the exercise of faith. The merit is theirs, not Christ's. They have no need of a Saviour, no need of His pitying, all-powerful love. They are perfect. They are saved.

This state of perfection is held by them to be the result of the new dispensation inaugurated by the

second coming of Christ, which event they assert took place eighteen hundred years ago, and about the period of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. After quoting the various passages in the New Testament in which the Saviour refers to His second coming, Noyes says: "We may sum up and concentrate the testimony we have examined in this section, thus: Christ designated the time of His second coming in six different ways: 1. He placed it immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. 2. He instructed his disciples to expect it when they should see the fearful signs that should precede and accompany the destruction of Jerusalem, as they would look for summer after the budding of the fig-tree. 3. He most solemnly declared that it would take place before the generation contemporary with Himself would pass away. 4. He assured His disciples that it would happen before their ministry to the Jews would be finished. 5. He said there were some standing with Him who should live till the event. 6. He plainly intimated that John should tarry till His coming.

"There is abundant proof in the New Testament that the primitive believers understood the foregoing predictions of Christ in their most obvious sense, and accordingly expected the second coming within the lifetime of some of their own number. We will notice a few specimens of their customary manner of speech concerning the second coming. 'Ye come behind in no gift, *waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ;*' 1 Cor. i. 7. 'Our conversation is in heaven, *from whence also we look for the Saviour, the*

Lord Jesus Christ;' Phil. iii. 20. 'Ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and *to wait for his Son from heaven;*' 1 Thess. i. 10. 'The grace of God . . . hath appeared, . . . teaching us . . . that we should live soberly, . . . looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ;' Titus ii. 11–13. Such language as this is perfectly natural on the supposition that they understood Christ's predictions as setting the period of the second coming nigh at hand; and perfectly unnatural on any other supposition, as is proved by the fact that such language at the present day, when the churches generally believe the second coming to be afar off, is altogether obsolete; except among those whose theory, like that of Miller, places the second advent very near the present time. Men do not *wait* and *look* for a far-distant event. Such language implies that the event expected is supposed to be *impending.* . . .

"In those remarkable passages of Paul which relate to the resurrection, it is impossible not to discover clear evidence of the same confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Lord. 'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, *and we shall be changed;*' 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52. 'For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, *that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord,* shall not prevent' (*i. e.*, antici-

pate) 'them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then *we which are alive and remain* shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air;' 1 Thess. iv. 15–17. If Paul had believed the resurrection to be a far-distant event, he would have said, '*We* who will then be dead shall be raised incorruptible, and *they* that remain alive shall be changed.' But, in both the instances, where such language might have been expected, he transposes the pronouns *we* and *they*, as though he studiously sought to make it manifest that he expected to be himself among the number of the living at the coming of the Lord."

So much for the manner in which Noyes treats the promises of the second coming and the views of the early Christians concerning it. As regards the precise nature of the coming itself, he says:

"It would not, therefore, be a strange thing, if it should be found that the second coming was an event very different from the conceptions of it, whether popular or learned, which men have gained by private interpretations of prophecy. Christ may have come at the time appointed, though the Scribes 'knew him not.' Taking the caution of past examples, we will not assume that He did not come, because popular anticipations were not fulfilled; but rather, that those anticipations were false, and wholly unworthy to be placed in the balance against the credit of those plain predictions which, as we have seen, appointed the

time. At the outset of our inquiry concerning the nature of the second coming, we are bound to take for granted that it was an event which, though it may not have been recognized by external historians, was not inconsistent with the true history of the external events which followed the destruction of Jerusalem. This assumption leads us at once to the general conclusion, that the second coming was an event *in the spiritual, and not in the natural world.*

"But here let it be observed, by way of caution, that, in placing the second coming in the spiritual, and not in the natural world, we give no place to that foolish unbelief which conceives of nothing but unsubstantial and shadowy existences and events as pertaining to that world. To some minds we may seem to belittle the glorious appearing of Christ, by referring it to the world of souls instead of the world of bodies; for it is fashionable to regard things spiritual and invisible as little more than things visionary and poetical. But, in our philosophy, mind is more truly a substantial entity than matter, and there is less of poetical nothingness in the spiritual than in the natural world. With these views, if we would magnify the coming of the Lord, we *must* refer it to a spiritual sphere. We measure the greatness of the event thus: As the body is to the soul, so was the awful overthrow of Jerusalem to the second coming of Christ. The slaughter of eleven hundred thousand Jews was the bodily representative, the visible and inferior index, of that spiritual judgment, in which 'the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the

rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come.'"

"The word of the angels at the ascension of Christ, 'This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven" (Acts i. 11), is sometimes urged as an objection to the theory of the second coming which we have presented. But it may more properly be regarded as a decisive objection to the popular expectation of a *public* personal advent, visible to the world. For, as we have seen, His nature was that of angels after His resurrection, and His ascension was in the angelic world, as was shown by the presence of the angels who uttered the above declaration. Moreover, He ascended, not in the view of assembled nations, but in the presence of a few of His disciples. The event was of a very *private* nature; and, according to the word of the angels, His subsequent coming was to be equally private, as far as this world was concerned."

Holding that Christ has already come the second time, and that those who know the truth are perfect and free from sin, Noyes and his followers declare it to be the duty of all Perfectionists to organize their temporal affairs on a heavenly basis as far as is practicable. The primitive believers, they say, were per-

fect; and as these sold all their possessions, and threw the proceeds into a common fund, no one calling any thing his own, they believe it to be their duty to do likewise. Perfectionism, they maintain, involves a community of goods; and, indeed, it is difficult to see how the two can be separated. A community of goods, they add, and with truth, involves a community of persons, or of wives. It is, of course, impossible to break down exclusive possession in all things else, and retain it in the domestic relations.

It must not be thought that the Saints, in denouncing Christianity as it is recognized by the world, deny also the Word of God. On the contrary, they claim that theirs is merely a more advanced compliance with the will of God as revealed in His Word. They hold to the Bible as the chart of their faith, and, to their own satisfaction at least, refer to it in support of their practices. It has often been said, that a man can prove any thing by the Bible—even the falsity of the religion it teaches; and this Noyes and his Saints have done. Noyes, indeed, claims that he has proved, "at the outset, that that Church (the Christian) has had at the very heart of its system of faith, ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, an enormous error—nothing less than a palpable denial of the plainest word that Christ ever spoke." We have endeavored to state their belief in their own words, as simply as possible, avoiding all discussion of their propositions, and leaving the reader to form his own opinion in the matter. In the same spirit of fairness, we conclude this chapter with the following brief

statement, in their own language, of some of their doctrines with regard to other matters as well as those already mentioned:

"That the Bible is the accredited organ of the kingdom of heaven.

"That the final interpreter of the Bible is not the Church, as the Papists hold; or the philologists, as the Protestants hold; but the Spirit of Truth, promised to all believers.

"That Bible-faith is, always and everywhere, faith in supernatural facts and sensible communications from God.

"That man has an invisible spiritual organization, which is as substantial as his body.

"That God is a dual being; and that man, as male and female, is made in the image of God.

"That evil originates in the devil, as good originates in God.

"That all diseases of body and soul are traceable to diabolical influences, and that all rational medication and salvation must overcome this spiritual cause.

"That Christ, in the sacrifice of Himself, overcame the devil, and thus destroyed the spiritual cause of sin and death.

"That, after the death and resurrection of Christ, a new dispensation of grace commenced, entirely different from the preceding Jewish dispensation.

"That the special promise and gift of this new dispensation is salvation from sin.

"That the second birth, including salvation from

sin, was never experienced till the manifestation of Christ.

"That regeneration comes by apprehending the resurrection of Christ, and receiving the same power that raised Him from the dead.

"That Christ predicted, and His followers expected, that His second advent would take place within one generation from His first coming; that all the signs of this event which He foretold came to pass before the close of the apostolic age; consequently, that simple faith is compelled to affirm that He did come the second time, at or near the period of the destruction of Jerusalem."

CHAPTER XI.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Marriage Abolished, and a System of Licentiousness called "Complex Marriage" Introduced.—How a Woman can have One Hundred Husbands, and a Man an Equal Number of Wives.—Arguments of Noyes against Marriage.—Marriage held to be Selfish and Sinful.—Lustfulness declared Holy and Liberal.—Blasphemous Declarations.—Noyes' Theory of Love.—He Thinks the Heart can Love any Number of Persons at the Same Time.—Selfishness Banished from the Community.—Men and Women the Common Property of Each Other, and must Love all Alike.—The True Character of Free Love.—It is Founded in Licentiousness.—Father Noyes' Definition of Free Love.—He Claims to Uphold Marriage, yet Advocates Immorality.—A Bad Showing by the Apostle of Filth.—An Impudent and Weak Document.

The social organization of the Oneida Community, although declared by Noyes to be "easily explained and readily understood," is so curious and monstrous that I almost shrink from the task of explaining it to the reader. It stands alone in this land of modern ideas and bold innovations. The system practised here is called by the Saints "Bible Communism;" and they do not hesitate to assure you that heaven is managed on the same plan; that the abode of the blessed is, in short, a vast Oneida Community in its social features.

The Community constitute one large family, the

members being united to each other in a system of "complex marriage." In the original compact between Noyes and his wife, they mutually agreed not to be exclusively devoted to each other, but to receive others into their unity. In plain English, Noyes, although compelled to submit to a legal marriage, was resolved not to abide by its requirements. In the Paradise which he meant to establish there was to be "neither marrying nor giving in marriage." "Persons entering our midst," said Mr. Allen to me, "marry the Community. We have no selfish unions. Each woman is the wife of every man in the Community, and each man the husband of every woman." Marriage, as we of the Christian world understand and practise it, has been done away with by Noyes and his followers. That sacred institution, established by God in the Garden of Eden, and exalted by one branch of the Christian Church into a sacrament, has been utterly abolished by these modern Saints, on the ground that it is selfish and unholy. "In the kingdom of heaven," says Noyes, "the institution of marriage, which assigns the exclusive possession of one woman to one man, does not exist. In the kingdom of heaven the intimate union of life and interest, which in the world is limited to pairs, extends through the whole body of believers; *i. e.*, complex marriage takes the place of simple."

This abolition of "simple marriage," as he terms it, he claims is in accordance with the teachings of the Apostle Paul, as well as in conformity with the state of affairs in heaven. "Admitting," says he, "that the

Community principle of the day of Pentecost, in its actual operation at that time, extended only to material goods, yet we affirm that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money, would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children. Paul expressly places property in women and property in goods in the same category, and speaks of them together, as ready to be abolished by the advent of the kingdom of heaven. . . . The abolishment of exclusiveness is involved in the love-relation required between all believers, by the express injunction of Christ and the apostles, and by the whole tenor of the New Testament. The new commandment is, that we love one another, and that not by pairs, as in the world, but *en masse*. We are required to love one another fervently. The fashion of the world forbids a man and woman who are otherwise appropriated to love one another fervently. But, if they obey Christ, they must do this. . . .

"The abolishment of the marriage system is involved in Paul's doctrine of the end of ordinances. Marriage is one of the 'ordinances of the worldly sanctuary.' This is proved by the fact that it has no place in the resurrection. Paul expressly limits it to life in the flesh. The assumption, therefore, that believers are dead to the world by the death of Christ (which authorized the abolishment of Jewish ordinances), legitimately makes an end of marriage.

". . . The law of marriage 'worketh wrath.'

1. It provokes to secret adultery, actual, or of the heart. 2. It ties together unmatched natures. 3. It sunders matched natures. 4. It gives to sexual appetite only a scanty and monotonous allowance, and so produces the natural vices of poverty, contraction of taste, and stinginess, or jealousy. 5. It makes no provision for the sexual appetite at the very time when that appetite is the strongest. By the custom of the world, marriage, in the average of cases, takes place at about the age of twenty-four; whereas puberty commences at the age of fourteen. For ten years, therefore, and that in the very flush of life, the sexual appetite is starved. This law of society bears hardest on females, because they have less opportunity of choosing their time of marriage than men. This discrepancy between the marriage system and nature is one of the principal sources of the peculiar diseases of women—of prostitution, masturbation, and licentiousness in general."

By such arguments as these do the Saints seek to do away with Christian marriage. It is selfish, it is unholy, they say; it violates the laws of God and of nature, and must be put down.

Having set aside marriage as unholy, they have organized the relations of the sexes in their Eden upon a footing of perfect equality and entire freedom. Marriage being "complex," and not "simple," men and women are perfectly free to indulge their fancies for each other, and to change the objects of those fancies as often as they may see fit. Noyes places a high estimate upon the proper regulation of sexual inter-

course. "Any attempt," says he, "to revolutionize sexual morality before settlement with God, is out of order. Holiness must go before free love." In other words, a man must first reconcile himself with God, and become holy by the exercise of his faith in Noyes' doctrines, and he may then, with perfect propriety, make love to and have intercourse with any female member of the Oneida Community. This may be very good from Mr. Noyes' standpoint, but the world regards it as adultery, and the law of God brands it with the same stigma. Noyes' declaration, given above, is simply blasphemous.

Selfishness is the essence of marriage as practised in the world, say the Saints, and must be put aside. Selfishness argues sinfulness, and cannot be encouraged or practised by perfect beings. Selfishness with regard to persons stands on the same footing with selfishness with regard to property. In both cases it is of the devil.

In the world, marriage is based upon love for a single individual. Among the Saints, it is based upon free love. A man or woman can love but one person truly, says the worldling. One can only love truly by loving a number, says the Saint; for, in simple marriage, the passion is but partially developed, whereas, in complex marriage, it is displayed in its highest form. "Sexual love," says Noyes, "is not naturally restricted to pairs. Second marriages are contrary to the one-love theory, and yet are often the happiest marriages. Men and women find universally (however the fact may be concealed), that their sus-

ceptibility to love is not burnt out by one honeymoon, or satisfied by one lover. On the contrary, the secret history of the human heart will bear out the assertion, that it is capable of loving any number of times and any number of persons, and that, the more it loves, the more it can love. This is the law of nature, thrust out of sight and condemned by common consent, and yet secretly known to all."

But the Saints go further than this. They not only believe that the heart can go out to any number of persons with true conjugal love, but assert boldly that this love is not, as the world has so long believed, an irresponsible and inevitable fatality, which must have its own course. They claim that it can be regulated and guided, and that, by means of such discipline, it will produce a better result than if left entirely to itself. In the Community the affections are made the subject of criticism, by which they are shaped and directed. Young persons who grow up in the Community, and converts coming in from the world without, are supposed to be ignorant of the true nature of love, and must be instructed and trained in it. They must be taught to love each and every member alike. There must be no partialities, no selfishness. You may love a woman most devotedly, but you must be ready to yield her to the embrace of any brother Saint who seeks her society. Any reluctance on your part is selfish and sinful, and must be criticised out of you. And you, my fair sister, must be ready to accept the love of any brother. You have no right to dislike him. He has a right to

your love, and to every privilege involved in it. You can have no preference for any one. "It is not desirable," says your chief, "for two persons, whatever may be their standing, to become exclusively attached to each other—to worship and idolize each other—however popular this experience may be with sentimental people generally. They regard exclusive, idolatrous attachment as unhealthy and pernicious, wherever it may exist. The Communities insist that the heart should be kept free to love all the true and worthy, and should never be contracted with exclusiveness or idolatry, or purely selfish love in any form."

Having broken down marriage and instituted a system of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes —a system in gross violation of both divine and civil law—this man, John Humphrey Noyes, has the impudence to assert that he and his followers do not merit the name of "Free Lovers" which public opinion has bestowed upon them. Their practices, he emphatically declares, are not licentious. Wishing to do him the amplest justice, we close this chapter with the following statement from his pen:

"FREE LOVE.

"This terrible combination of two very good ideas —freedom and love—was first used by the writers of the Oneida Community about twenty-one years ago, and probably originated with them. It was, however, soon taken up by a very different class of specu-

lators scattered about the country, and has come to be the name of a form of socialism with which we have but little affinity. Still, it is sometimes applied to our Communities; and as we are certainly responsible for starting it into circulation, it seems to be our duty to tell what meaning we attach to it, and in what sense we are willing to accept it as a designation of our social system.

"The obvious and essential difference between marriage and licentious connections may be stated thus:

"Marriage is a permanent union. Licentiousness deals in temporary flirtations.

"In marriage, communism of property goes with communism of persons. In licentiousness, love is paid for as hired labor.

"Marriage makes a man responsible for the consequences of his acts of love to a woman. In licentiousness, a man imposes on a woman the heavy burdens of maternity, ruining, perhaps, her reputation and her health, and then goes his way without responsibility.

"Marriage provides for the maintenance and education of children. Licentiousness ignores children as nuisances, and leaves them to chance.

"Now, in respect to every one of these points of difference between marriage and licentiousness, *we stand with marriage.* Free love, with us, does *not* mean freedom to love t -day and leave to-morrow; nor freedom to take a woman's person and keep our property to ourselves; nor freedom to freight a

woman with our offspring, and send her down-stream without care or help; nor freedom to beget children and leave them to the street and the poor-house. Our Communities are *families*, as distinctly bounded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. We receive no new members (except by deception or mistake) who do not give heart and hand to the family interest for life and forever. Community of property extends just as far as freedom of love. Every man's care and every dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the Community. Bastardy, in any disastrous sense of the word, is simply impossible in such a social state. Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning, will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and civilization.

"We are not sure how far the class of socialists called 'Free Lovers' would claim for themselves any thing like the above defence from the charge of reckless and cruel freedom; but our impression is, that their position, scattered as they are, without organization or definite separation from surrounding society, makes it impossible for them to follow and care for the consequences of their freedom, and thus exposes them to the just charge of licentiousness. At all events, their platform is entirely different from ours,

and they must answer for themselves. *We* are not 'Free Lovers' in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage.

"Having thus disclaimed the freedom of licentiousness, we must now complete our definition of Free Love, by also disclaiming some of the liberties of marriage.

"Freedom used to be understood, at the South, to be liberty for a man to 'wallop his nigger.' Something like this kind of one-sided freedom—liberty of the strong to oppress the weak—seems to be recognized and tolerated as inevitable and right in all the popular forms of sexual relations. Marriage, not less —perhaps even more—than the looser sexual institutions, places woman in the power of man. The liberty of marriage, as commonly understood and practised, is the liberty of a man to sleep habitually with a woman; liberty to please himself alone in his dealings with her; liberty to expose her to child-bearing, without care or consultation.

"The term 'Free Love,' as understood by the Oneida Community, does *not* mean any such freedom of sexual proceedings as this. The household arrangements of our families provide separate sleeping apartments for the sexes, and, as far as possible and agreeable, for individuals. The theory of sexual interchange which governs all the general measures of the Community, and which it is bound to realize sooner or later, and as soon as it can, is just that which in ordinary society governs the proceedings in *courtship*. It is the theory of the equal rights of

women and men, and the freedom of both from habitual and legal obligations to personal fellowship. It is the theory that love *after* marriage, and always and forever, should be what it is *before* marriage—a glowing attraction on both sides, and not the odious obligation of one party, and the sensual recklessness of the other.

"Besides all this, Oneida Communists have a special theory in regard to the act of sexual intercourse itself, which places it under unusual restrictions. They hold that two distinct kinds of sexual intercourse ought to be recognized: one simply social, and the other propagative; and that the propagative should only be exercised when impregnation is intended and mutually agreed upon. It is difficult to treat such a subject as this freely in these columns. We barely allude to it for the present, referring the reader to what we have published in other forms. But we assure all who really wish to know the inner truth about us, that a clear understanding of us on this point is most essential. Sexual intercourse *without the propagative act* (except when propagation is intended) is all that we tolerate in Free Love; and this will sooner or later be known to be a very different affair from that kind of sexual commerce against which all criminal statutes are directed. So far as this matter is concerned, Free Love, in the Oneida sense of the term, is much less free, in the gross, sensual way, than marriage.

"The thing we have done, for which we are called 'Free Lovers,' is simply this: We have left the sim-

ple form of marriage, and advanced to the complex stage of it. We have no quarrel with those who believe in exclusive dual marriage and faithfully observe it, but we have concluded that, for us, there is a better way. The honor and faithfulness that constitute an ideal marriage, may exist between two hundred as well as two; while the guarantees for women and children are much greater in the Community than they can be in any private family. The results of the complex system we may sum up by saying, that men are rendered more courteous, women more winning, children are better born, and both sexes are personally free."

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIAL MYSTERIES.

Difficulty of Laying the Case properly before the Reader.—Marriage being Abolished, Promiscuous Intercourse of the Sexes becomes the Rule at the Community.—The Total Abolition of Female Virtue the Result of Free Love.—Quarrels of the Saints.—Merely Men and Women, and very Imperfect Specimens at that.—A Gross Misrepresentation of the Truth.—Universal Prostitution required of Every One.—The Women have really no such Protection as Noyes Claims for them.—Selfishness not Allowed.—How the Principle of Sympathy Works.—Practical Illustrations.—Members Criticised into Submission.—No Exclusive Affection Allowed.—Women cannot have a Single Lover.—The Rotation System.—What it Means.—The Doctrine of Ascending Fellowship.—Its True Meaning.—Nature Outraged.—Old Men make a Business of Seducing the Young Girls.—Immoral Old Women.—A Frightful State of Affairs.—Unnatural Unions of Youth and Age.—Terrible and Startling Revelations.—Sad Fate of the Young Members of the Community.—Condemning Children to Vice.—Noyes' Libertine Theories.—How the Children are Initiated into the Mysteries of Free Love.—Female Purity Outraged by the Saints.—Acquiring Self-Control.—Disgusting Practices of the Saints.—Incest.—A Father Living in open Adultery with his own Daughter.—The Community Sanction the Crime.—How Courtships are Managed at the Community.—The Rule of Assigning Partners a Dead Letter.—The Fruits of Licentiousness.—Liberal Ideas.—Brick Pomeroy's Opinion of the System.—Candid Confessions of the Saints.—A Filthy and Degraded Set.—"No One has any Right to Complain."—A Queer Use to put a Mother to.

I HAVE examined the theory of the relation of the sexes held by Noyes and his followers, and have stated it in the language of the former. I shall now glance at the practical workings of this theory as seen in the every-day life of the Community.

There is no marriage here, consequently there are no such things as husbands and wives. All are brothers and sisters. Even the relations of father, mother, parent, child, give way to this universal brotherhood. Men and women are entirely unrestrained in their approaches to each other. Promiscuous intercourse is the rule. No man has any claim to the exclusive possession of any woman, and no woman can keep herself entirely for any one man. Each person is the property of the Community, and must submit to the will of the whole body. Apart from its business organization, the Community is based upon a total abolition of female virtue. The women are the common property of the men, and *vice versâ*. No woman being a wife can claim a husband's protection against the advances of those who are personally repugnant to her. She must submit. She must love all alike.

In spite of the assertions of the Saints, this Community of persons is not the happiest assemblage in the world. Quarrels do break out here, jealousies do exist, sometimes secret and smouldering, sometimes open and bitter. These Saints, perfect as they claim to be, are merely men and women, endowed with the same feelings and passions which distinguish their fellows in the world without. Though they have separated themselves from that world, they have not changed their natures, and they must be judged by the same rules by which ordinary humanity is tried.

It will be plain to every reader that, in a Community in which the person of a female is at the

mercy of every man, there will always be more than one applicant for the favors of the most attractive woman. She must make her selection for the time, and must then go the round of all her suitors. Not to do this, is to violate the essential principle of sympathy of which the Saints boast so loudly. She must love all alike.

Another principle, well known and carried out in the Communities, is, *that persons shall not be obliged to receive, under any circumstances, the attentions of those whom they do not like.* They abhor rapes, whether committed under the cover of marriage or elsewhere. The Communities are pledged to protect all their members from disagreeable social approaches. Every woman is free to refuse every man's attentions." This is very fair in theory, but it is not maintained in the practice of the Community. Indeed, it is opposed to the vital principle of sympathy. A woman cannot love every member alike, if some are disagreeable to her. She must have no preference. It is the same with a man. Each person is given to understand that he or she must be in sympathy with each and every other member of the Community, and must be ready and willing at all times to "confer happiness," as the Saints express it, upon any one desiring their affections.

A sister attracts the attention of some brother, who desires her society. The brother does not suit her fancy, and she declines to "confer happiness" upon him. If Noyes tells the truth in the above statement, she is exercising an inalienable right. The

facts of the case, however, prove that he has not stated the matter fairly. The woman's refusal shows that she is not in sympathy with, that she does not love perfectly, at least one member of the Community. She is a proper subject for criticism, and is at once condemned to that ordeal, until, wearied out, and her moral courage broken down, she consents to accept the love of the brother in question, and to receive such attentions as he sees fit to offer her.

On the other hand, it sometimes happens that men and women fancy each other to such a degree, that to each the thought of relinquishing the other is torment. As long as the Community are satisfied to let them alone, all goes well; but at length there comes a time when some member, male or female, desiring the society of one or the other, makes a demand for it. Then, any reluctance to separate is denounced as sinful, as selfish. No matter how devotedly the couple may love one another, each must be prepared to relinquish the other to some one else upon the first demand. They are criticised until their reluctance to do this is conquered; or, if they persist in their selfishness, they must leave the Community. So much is this ordeal of criticism dreaded, and so anxious are the members to be in full sympathy with the Community, that it rarely happens that any serious resistance is offered in this respect. The women, having given themselves over to this species of debauchery, rarely make any effort to resist their fate. On the contrary, the most of them, having their appetites whetted by the life they lead, enjoy the variety at

their command, and would seriously object to any interruption in the rotation system. The men naturally prefer the present arrangement. It gives them a wider field for the gratification of their lusts, and furnishes each Saint with about one hundred mistresses instead of one.

The leaders of the Community are men past the middle age, or advanced in years, and, with the cunning of old roués, have invented a system for their own benefit, which they call the principle of "Ascending Fellowship." "It is regarded better," says Noyes, "for the young of both sexes to associate in love with persons older than themselves, and, if possible, with those who are spiritual and have been some time in the school of self-control, and who are thus able to make love safe and edifying. This," he continues, "is only another form of the popular principle of contrasts. It is well understood by physiologists, that it is undesirable for persons of similar characters and temperaments to mate together. Communists have discovered that it is not desirable for two inexperienced and unspiritual persons to rush into fellowship with each other; that it is far better for both to associate with persons of mature character and sound sense." Nothing could be more coolly infamous, more utterly revolting, than this deliberate statement.

There are in the Community certain men and women of advanced age. These are looked up to as the wisest and best of the body, having been the original members. Their wishes have naturally great-

er weight than those of more recent converts, for they are the veterans who fought the early battles and won the first triumphs of the Community. For their benefit this infamous system has been invented—a system which rivals in unnaturalness the most infamous "mysteries" of the most corrupt Roman period. Their mode of life has kept their passions up to the highest stage, and has not permitted them to cool with their declining years. They are failing in bodily vigor, but their salacious appetites are still strong. In order to satisfy them, they have invented and put in practice this infamous system of mating couples which Nature has separated. The young, just coming into possession of those feelings which, rightly directed, are the source of life's greatest happiness, are consigned to the society of partners utterly unsuited to them. Nature designs a young woman for a young man, and has placed every possible barrier between the union of age and youth, and, as the penalty of a violation of her laws, has usually cursed all such unions with physical sufferings, which cannot be mentioned here, but which every physician has more or less practical knowledge of. Yet Noyes and his Saints have set this law at defiance, and have inaugurated the contrary practice. In judging their act, we must not be blinded by their religious protestations or fine phrases. Their principle of ascending fellowship may be to them a very pretty theory, but it is used only to cover their own licentiousness. They know that an impure old man desires a young companion, and a lecherous old woman a vigorous lover

Therefore they, being able to control their fellows, have put such a shameful system into practice, and have impudently tried to exalt it to the dignity of religion and of science. It is pure licentiousness, whatever they may call it, and is practised only because it gives Noyes and the elders possession of the persons of the young women of the Community, and the young men are given to the old women merely to secure their acquiescence in the scheme.

Can any thing be more revolting to nature than the yoking of a young girl just budding into womanhood with an old man whose feet are fast going down to the grave? Equally revolting is the practice of compelling vigorous young men to be the companions of women old enough to be their grandmothers. Yet this is the practical result of the doctrine of "ascending fellowship." The natural affections and appetites must be stifled, and in their place a system utterly horrible and disgusting must be adopted.

I have felt the profoundest pity for some of the young people of the Community. The majority of the old women are hideous and loathsome in appearance, and it seems to me the most horrible fate in the world to be linked with one of them even for the short period of a few days. There are a few fresh, attractive young women in the place, and, if they be human beings in heart and soul, the society of the elders, to which the customs of the Community condemn them, must be torture to them. The object of all this, says Noyes, is "to teach every one self-control;" and certainly a severer, more ingenious method

of accomplishing this end, could not have been devised. Ah, the terrible heart-histories that could be told by the Saints, were they free to speak the truth —the struggles, the crushed affections, the better and nobler feelings degraded, or "conquered," as these people term it. What a volume would they form, could they be written out; and how strangely would they contrast with the assertions of the Saints, that perfect happiness and contentment reign in their midst! I grant that Noyes and his assistants may succeed in degrading human beings to such a level that they will accept any thing and every thing with that recklessness or apathy which is so often seen in inmates of brothels; but that this is a condition of perfect happiness, the writer entirely denies; and he believes that, could the members of the Community speak the convictions of their better moments, they would sustain him in this denial. Even Noyes himself confesses that his followers do sometimes rebel against the practices to which they are condemned. Even he bears unwilling witness to the struggles which their better natures make against their degradation; but he blasphemously attributes these outbreaks, these strong efforts of the little that is divine in human nature against the fate he assigns it, to the influence of Satan. They are the result of selfishness, of unholiness, he says; and, in his eyes, to put out this divine spark, to degrade one's self to the level of a prostitute or an adulterer, is to be perfectly holy. And this practice, he tells us, is enjoined by God, and prevails in the kingdom of heaven.

As I rode across the country from Oneida to the Community, the driver of my carriage said to me: "There is one thing that will astonish you, sir; and that is, the outrageous way in which they give young girls to old men and young men to old women." This seemed to be, in his estimation, the chief sin of the Saints. Rough and plain as the lad was, he was a human being. Though unable to refute the arguments of Noyes and his followers, the humanity in him rose up and denounced them and their practices.

But Noyes has not only discovered that this system of yoking youth and age is in accordance with the heavenly plan; he has taken another step in violation of Nature's laws. It is made the business of the Community to train up the young to a life of immorality. "By the custom of the world," says Noyes, "marriage, in the average of cases, takes place at about the age of twenty-four; whereas puberty commences at the age of fourteen. For ten years, therefore, and that in the very flush of life, the sexual appetite is starved. This law of society bears the hardest on females, because they have less opportunity of choosing their time of marriage than men. This discrepancy between the marriage system and Nature is one of the principal sources of the peculiar diseases of women—of prostitution, masturbation, and licentiousness in general."

Submit this passage, reader, to any man of the world, and he will tell you it is the opinion of a libertine—of a man accustomed to view woman solely as the instrument of his sensual pleasure, and blind to

the higher and nobler phases of her character. Viewing her through the medium of his own lusts, she is consumed by the same passions that devour him. She is in his eyes a Messalina from the age of puberty, and craves a premature gratification of her unnatural desires.

Science takes a very different view of the case. It is a fact as well established as the theory of the circulation of the blood, that puberty does not bring with it all the requisites for the healthy satisfaction of the sexual appetite. The body does not possess the necessary vigor to withstand the strain put upon it by this exercise; and it is a fact established beyond all question, that an habitual indulgence in the practice at this tender age is sure to sap the vigor of both body and mind, and to entail upon the victim a series of physical ills from which the prudent person shrinks appalled. It is for this reason that, in civilized countries, marriage is postponed for some years after the age of puberty. So true is the scientific view of the case, that nothing short of a direct revelation from heaven can prove the contrary.

Such a revelation Noyes claims has been given him, and, in accordance with it, the young members of the Community are initiated into the rites of immorality at a very tender age. A young girl, just budding into womanhood—say at the sweet and unsuspecting age of fifteen—attracts the attention and arouses, by her beauty and grace, the passions of one of the old men of the Community. Perhaps the hoary wretch has watched her gradual growth from

childhood to maidenhood, and has gloated over his prospective enjoyment of her charms. He causes her to be informed, or informs her himself, that she has now reached the age when she must take upon herself the duties of a woman. She is already wife to every man in the Community, and he quiets her conscience by assuring her that she will be simply doing her duty by complying with his wishes. She is at the most unsuspicious and susceptible period of a woman's life; and she, even in this den of infamy, has had some hopes of tasting of a woman's happiness—to love and be loved by some one suited to her in years and freshness of heart. A cruel awakening is in store for her. Instead of an honest lover, she finds a base seducer. Instead of satisfying the demands of her heart and nature, she is told that she must conquer them—that she must acquire self-control. She cannot even choose her lover. She must take the one given her by the Community, and he is sure to be one against whom her maidenly and natural instincts will revolt. Am I wrong, reader? What young girl seeks of her own accord a life of infamy, before she is well aware of the meaning of the word? What maiden fresh and pure, full of all the sweet hopes and aspirations of youth, voluntarily seeks the arms of a graybeard, when lovers suited to her in youth, vigor, and comeliness, are at hand? Ah, John Humphrey Noyes, you may bring women to believe in your doctrine when you have so far degraded them that their moral and natural instincts are destroyed; but could you read the hearts of the young girls your teachings

condemn to infamy, you would find there an eloquent refutation of your base theories.

Young men are, as a rule, wiser in these affairs than young girls. Physicians, and those accustomed to deal with such matters, are unanimous in their testimony that a majority of women reach a marriageable age either in ignorance of the duties a wife owes her husband, or with very imperfect notions upon the subject. It is not so with young men, too many of whom part with their purity, either in act or thought, very soon after the passions causing such a step make themselves felt. Man's nature is rougher than woman's. He does not shrink from impurity as she does, and immorality finds him an easier victim. This is the case at the Oneida Community. It is easier to lead the boys astray than to corrupt the girls.

The old men, however, have little to do with this branch of the business. They content themselves with seducing the girls, and leave the youths to the care of the old women. These aged dames are adepts in the art of arousing and stimulating the passions of the youths in their hands. They are firm believers in Noyes' theory of satisfying the sexual appetite at its first dawning, and carefully instil lessons of immorality into the minds of their pupils. Veterans in obscenity and licentiousness, they aim to make their young companions equally proficient; and, like the men, they profess to do all this in accordance with the will of Heaven.

If a young girl, innocent and unsuspicious, and scarcely knowing the nature of the fate to which she

is condemned, struggles against it, how much more horrible must such a doom appear to the stronger and more knowing sex? He must be either more or less than man who can prefer a shrivelled crone to a blooming maiden, the doctrine of ascending fellowship to the contrary notwithstanding. I do not think the younger Saints at Oneida either more or less than men. They seemed to me just such individuals as I find in the world around me; and I was more than ever impressed with their humanity, when I failed to find a single one who seemed to me either perfectly happy, or even as bright and lively as the average youth of the county. I did not wonder at this when I saw the old women to whose society they were condemned, and I came to the conclusion that they all found the process of acquiring self-control a very painful and disgusting one.

Doubtless the reader will ask, Why do not these young people rebel against such a system? It would be useless. The young members are a decided minority, and must either be in sympathy with the old, for whose benefit the system was invented, or leave the Community. Again, it may be argued that Noyes has declared as a cardinal principle of the Community, that no woman shall be compelled to submit to the attentions of those personally disagreeable to her. This is Noyes' profession, it is true, but it is not the practice of the Community. To object to any member is to be out of sympathy with him, and therefore with the Community, who insist that all shall love and be loved alike. The unsympathetic member is

subjected to the ordeal of criticism. The torture is made sharp and prolonged, and the victim submits. Besides, Noyes' remark applies only to the women.

It is not always possible, however, to keep young lovers apart. Like will seek like, and love will blossom and flourish in spite of the principle of ascending fellowship, even if it must do so in secret. Stolen interviews are the result. The young do enjoy each other's society, and even Father Noyes' potential word is set at defiance. Viewing the matter in the light of complex marriage, there can be no harm in this. Noyes has no right to complain if the young do associate together. No one possesses any thing exclusively here. Women are free to grant favors to whom they please, and men can seek pleasure anywhere. A young Saint seeking the smiles of a blooming damsel is guilty only of infidelity to the principle of ascending fellowship. In all other respects he is guiltless.

In the Oneida Community all the distinctions of the world without are done away with. As there are no husbands and wives, as in the world, so there are no parents and children. Men and women are simply brothers and sisters. A man is married in the Community to each and every woman in it. He may have a sister, a mother, a daughter, among the Saints. He is simply her brother, and marries her with the rest. In view of this peculiar relation towards her, he may take her to his bed without sin. In plain English, according to the doctrine of the Oneida Community, a man may have sexual intercourse with his grandmother, mother, daughter, sister, or with all of

them, and be blameless. The world calls this incest, and brands it as a crime of the darkest dye. God's holy Word emphatically denounces it as of the devil; but at the Oneida Community it is regarded simply as conferring happiness, and is perfectly lawful and right. One of the Saints informed Mr. Pomeroy,* during a recent visit, that one of the members of the Community was living in such a relation with one of his two daughters, the other being given for the time to another Saint. And yet, these people would have the world believe that their practices are to prevail in the kingdom of heaven.

"Still another principle," says the Handbook, "is, that it is best for men, in their approaches to women, to invite personal interviews, through the intervention of a third party, for two important reasons: viz., first, that the matter may be brought in some measure under the inspection of the Community; and, secondly, that the women may decline proposals, if they choose, without embarrassment or restraint." This is the law. Mr. Cragin says, that persons wishing to associate together make their proposals through a third party, and do not even speak to each other on the subject until the decision of the Community is known. This law is not always observed, however. Men and women do seek each other's society in separate interviews, without seeking the permission of the Community. Love being free, and each one being free to confer happiness at will, no one has the right to complain.

* Brick Pomeroy.

"'Our love for each other,' said one of the Saints to Mr. Pomeroy, 'is so perfect, that we do not consider that we wrong a brother in honoring or conferring happiness or pleasure upon a woman who may be wifely to him, as you use the term.'

"'Well,' said Brick, overcome by such generosity, 'this is about the mellowest liberality we ever heard of. Do you allow the same privileges to outsiders—newspaper men, &c.—who come here?'

"'By no means,' was the reply. 'None but those of our family partake of the family property.'

"'Some of these days,' continued the visitor, bent on getting at the bottom of the matter, 'we may become disgusted with the way things are conducted in this world, and apply for admission here, giving you an opportunity to black-ball or admit us, as you see fit. Knowing something about how things are conducted outside, we would know how they are managed here; then we can judge which is best.'

"'Well, sir, should you come here, a committee would consider all these questions, &c., and, after you had become acquainted and expressed a desire to have as your companion or "mother" a certain woman, this committee would ask her if she had any objections, &c. You would be brought together, and if your affinity, so to speak, ran to each other, why, it would be all right.'

"'Suppose your association should see fit to give us, a warm-blooded vigorous delegate—should apportion to us, as our part of the profits of this association, a venerable dame, old enough to be our grand

mother;—suppose she was the only one of all the flock here that would like us well enough to permit certain familiarities which are evidently not unfashionable here, and that we should have a *hankering* for somebody else, and, at last, that somebody else should reciprocate our hankering;—would it then be necessary for us to dodge around slyly to obtain interviews whereby and wherefore certain objects might be accomplished, providing such was our desire? or would it be considered all right to boldly enter in upon and take possession of? In other words, would the brother more immediately interested be angry upon finding a stray rabbit in his trap?'

"'Oh, no; this is all in accordance with that great love. Here, no brother can wrong a brother by being familiar with any of the sisters. Nor does a sister wrong any brother by being familiar with another. There are times and places and opportunities continually presenting themselves, and those who see fit to love, caress, show affection, &c., have no one to interfere with them.'

"'Suppose a man and woman here thrown together become attached to each other, as they do outside of this Community; after being together more or less, they think they are indispensable to each other's happiness. Suppose they become heretical, so to speak—the man thinks he loves that woman more than any and all others; and the woman, in returning this affection for him, learning, as women will, if they are good and virtuous, to look with a certain degree of indifference or loathing upon the attention of oth

ers;—and suppose the man becomes absorbed in his love for this one woman, and that the woman is only happy when with that man;—suppose these two find their lives running into each other, thinking alike, desiring alike, having the same passions, the same warmth of blood and generosity of touch and sentiment—a disposition to live for, by, of, and unto each other. Do you allow this?'

"'Well, in our evening meetings, when we all assemble as a family, we should criticise their conduct, point to the evil of their ways, question the genuineness of their religion, and, if they persisted in living in violation of our faith, drawing themselves so closely together as to attract the attention of the Community, thinking more of each other and the gratification of their love, desires, passions, &c., than of Christ, we should say to them they had better go, for they were not of us; and we should not want them with us, harmony being necessary to complete success.'

"'Then you have no constancy here other than your religion; every thing is subservient to that? You put up goods, manufacture certain articles, selling them to the best advantage, and you enjoy yourselves, when comes the hour of relaxation, as inclination suggests or dictates.'

"'Yes, we live here as brothers and sisters—all alike. What belongs to one, belongs to all. As brothers and sisters think it no harm to kiss each other promiscuously, so do we think it no harm nor sin to confer happiness whenever, wherever, and by whatever means we can, to those of our own Com-

munity. And the women consider that we are doing them honor in showing them the attentions you hint at and openly speak of.'

"'Do you room apart—the men here and women there—or domicile together?'

"'Oh, that is as it happens. Some of the women sleep in this part of the house, and some in that; some of the men here, and some there. We have our rooms, of course, but all are cared for alike; and if one man happens to be found in another man's room. or *vice-versâ*, there are no hard feelings; it is all right.'

"'We presume you have keys upon the door, so that a man would not be disturbed in his devotions? And, of course, you would not tolerate the breaking of locks?'

"'Yes, our doors have locks.'

"'Suppose we get our eye upon one that just suits us, and discover that she is your "mother," or another gentleman's "mother," and, when we invite her to come around to 143, she says, "Shoo, fly! excuse me; I am engaged for this evening." That's what we want to know—how you fix this thing.'

"'Well, the love of Christ so fills our hearts, that we do not want what another has; and if we did want it, it is all right that we should have it.'"

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

The Oneida Community Founded in Lust.—Free Love necessitates Unnatural Practices.—Noyes' Theory of the Sexual Relation.—Blasphemous Views concerning it.—He Claims that it is a Religious Duty to be an Adulterer.—His Doctrine of Male Continence.—What it is.—A Scientific View of the Case.—It is a Filthy, Degrading, and Unhealthy Practice.—Effects of Male Continence in the World.—How Physicians regard the Practice.—Views of Dr. Bergeret.—Startling Facts.—A Case in Point.—Noyes' Statements not True.—They are Opposed by Science and Religion.—Moral View of the Case.—Its Effects upon Individuals and upon Society.—Confessions of the Saints.—The Oneida Community and its Practices Condemned by Reason, by Science, and by the Law of the Land.—A Vast Brothel.

I TAKE the broad ground, that, in spite of all the guise and affectation of religion, the Oneida Community is founded in lust. It is the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, the utter freedom which is given to the passions, that makes it so attractive to its members. We have shown how unnatural is its method of yoking youth and age, and of forcing young people into vice before they are physically prepared for it; and it now remains to show how grossly Nature is perverted in that which is the chief end of their association—the intercourse of the sexes.

"Sexual freedom in the Community," says Noyes, "is subject to the general restriction prescribed by the

doctrine of 'Male Continence;' *i. e.*, all men are expected to make it a point of honor to refrain from the propagative part of sexual intercourse, except when propagation is intended and provided for by due consultation with the Community and with the other party concerned. This practice," he adds, "does not seek to prevent the natural *effect* of the propagative act, but to prevent the propagative act itself, except when it is intended to be effectual." This, then, is the doctrine of male continence—that a man may indulge in sexual intercourse up to and as far as the emission of the seed, but that that must be and can be prevented. That is, that, under the cover of religion and science, a man must degrade into inexpressible filthiness an act which Nature designs shall be complete. It is a filthy, vicious doctrine, a disgusting, degrading, and unhealthy practice.

The following are some of the arguments by which Noyes defends his theory and practice:

"The restoration of true relations between the sexes is a matter second in importance only to the reconciliation of man to God. The distinction of male and female is that which makes man the image of God; *i. e.*, the image of the Father and the Son. The relation of male and female was the first social relation. It is therefore the root of all other social relations. The derangement of this relation was the first result of the original breach with God. Adam and Eve were, at the beginning, in open, fearless, spiritual fellowship, first with God, and secondly with each other. Their transgression produced two corre-

sponding alienations, viz., first, an alienation from God, indicated by their fear of meeting Him and their hiding themselves among the trees of the Garden; and secondly, an alienation from each other, indicated by their shame at their nakedness and their hiding themselves from each other by clothing. These were the two great manifestations of original sin—the only manifestations presented to notice in the record of the apostasy. The first thing, then, to be done, in an attempt to redeem man and reorganize society, is to bring about reconciliation with God; and the second thing is, to bring about a true union of the sexes. . . .

"Dividing the sexual relation into two branches, the amative and propagative, the amative or love-relation is first in importance, as it is in the order of Nature. God made woman because 'he saw it was not good for man to be alone;' *i. e.*, for social, not primarily for propagative purposes. Eve was called Adam's 'help-meet.' In the whole of the specific account of the creation of woman, she is regarded as his companion, and her maternal office is not brought into view. Amativeness was necessarily the first social affection developed in the Garden of Eden. The second commandment of the eternal law of love, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' had amativeness for its first channel; for Eve was at first Adam's only neighbor. Propagation, and the affections connected with it, did not commence their operation during the period of innocence. After the Fall God said to the woman, 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception;' from which it is to be

inferred that, in the original state, conception would have been comparatively infrequent.

"The amative part of the sexual relation, separate from the propagative, is eminently favorable to life. It is not a source of life (as some would make it), but it is the first and best distributive of life. Adam and Eve, in their original state, derived their life from God. As God is a dual being, the Father and the Son, and man was made in His image, a dual life passed from God to man. Adam was the channel specially of the life of the Father, and Eve of the life of the Son. Amativeness was the natural agency of the distribution and mutual action of these two forms of life. In this primitive position of the sexes (which is their normal position in Christ), each reflects upon the other the love of God; each excites and develops the divine action in the other.

"The propagative part of the sexual relation is, in its nature, the expensive department. 1. While amativeness keeps the capital stock of life circulating between the two, propagation introduces a third partner. 2. The propagative act is a drain on the life of man, and, when habitual, produces disease. 3. The infirmities and vital expenses of woman during the long period of pregnancy waste her constitution. 4. The awful agonies of childbirth heavily tax the life of woman. 5. The cares of the nursing-period bear heavily on woman. 6. The cares of both parents, through the period of the childhood of their offspring, are many and burdensome. 7. The labor of man is greatly increased by the necessity of providing for

children. A portion of these expenses would undoubtedly have been curtailed, if human nature had remained in its original integrity, and will be, when it is restored. But it is still self-evident that the birth of children, viewed either as a vital or mechanical operation, is, in its nature, expensive; and the fact that multiplied conception was imposed as a curse, indicates that it was so regarded by the Creator.

"The amative and propagative functions are distinct from each other, and may be separated practically. They are confounded in the world, both in the theories of physiologists and in universal practice. The amative function is regarded merely as a bait to the propagative, and is merged in it. But if amativeness is, as we have seen, the first and noblest of the social affections, and if the propagative part of the sexual relation was originally secondary, and became paramount by the subversion of order in the Fall, we are bound to raise the amative office of the sexual organs into a distinct and paramount function."

I should gladly pass over this "peculiar institution" of the Saints, but for the fact that they have industriously exerted themselves to spread a knowledge of their filthy practice throughout the country, and claim to have succeeded in inducing a number of persons to adopt it. Noyes, in a recent number of the *Circular*, even goes so far as to call on his disciples in this filthy art to testify to its benefits. The following is his card:

"FACTS WANTED.

"A medical writer in New York city has undertaken to point out the limitations of our method of controlling propagation. He admits that male continence may be feasible and useful in a Community, but insists that it cannot be practised with satisfactory results in ordinary married life. Considerable experience tending to a different conclusion from this has fallen in our way during the last twenty-five years. In the first place, we discovered the principle of Male Continence, and practised it ourselves with excellent results, before the formation of our Community. Also other members of the Oneida Community had similar experience before they joined the Community. Moreover, we have received many communications from persons in common society, testifying of the benefits they have received from the practice of male continence. Still, our opinions on this point are not so fixed that they would not readily yield to well-authenticated adverse facts. But we cannot help suspecting that a medical parish in New York city is not the best place for testing such a matter. We want to hear from the country folks, the healthy folks, and especially the folks that have some faith in God. We judge that the parish of the *Circular* may be a better field to look for facts in. Our writings on male continence are in the hands of many of our subscribers. There must be much interesting experience among them. We invite them to report. Their communications shall be treated as confidential, unless they give express consent to their publication. Let us hear

from them, what they have experienced, and also what they have heard from others, in relation to male continence—its feasibility, its effects on men, its effects on women, &c., &c. When we get facts enough for a safe induction, perhaps we shall put them in a book.

"J. H. N."

Science has done much of late years to throw light upon the subject of the intercourse of the sexes, which has hitherto presented, and which even now presents, so many perplexing questions for solution; and the result of the most intelligent observations is to establish the fact that *incomplete* intercourse of any kind is unnatural, vicious, and full of dangerous consequences to both parties, especially to the female. Prevention of conception, in whatever form it may be practised, has come to be regarded by modern science as a violation of Nature's laws, sure to meet its just punishment sooner or later. Prevention, indeed, has its rise in a vicious motive. People practise it for no other reason than to enable them to enjoy the pleasures of sexual intercourse, and avoid its responsibilities. Licentiousness is at the bottom of the matter in the world, and there can be no other foundation for it in the Oneida Community. The Saints wish to enjoy their women and be free from the cares and responsibilities of paternity. Therefore they have adopted this practice. It is very easy for Noyes to endeavor to call it a religious duty. Of all religions known to history, that described in the Mosaic books is the most careful of the bodily health and vigor of its dis-

ciples; and it is not to be thought that the same God would sanction a practice utterly destructive of His noblest work. The plea that the practice is more merciful to woman, is equally shallow. Modern science has established beyond all doubt the fact that maternity is the healthiest and best condition of the female system; and so much has been done, by the proper use of anæsthetics, to alleviate the pangs of childbirth, that they are not to be dreaded by any woman as either so terribly agonizing or exhausting. But even if this were not so—if this ordeal of giving life to a human being were still a "heavy cross," it is both healthier and more merciful to a woman than are the results of any form of prevention, not even excepting that of male continence.

No reputable physician will hesitate to class male continence, as Noyes calls it, amongst the most reprehensible forms of prevention. It is one of the grossest violations of the law of Nature known to men, and is not by any means the invention of Noyes. It has been known and practised in Europe, especially in those countries inhabited by the Latin race, for centuries, and is held by the physicians of France in especial odium because of its disastrous effects upon the man. Prevention of all kinds is injurious to both parties, but, as a rule, its evil effects manifest themselves sooner in woman than in man, and in a more aggravated form. This is not surprising. The part of the man is very simple, and of very short duration in the great act of generation. That of the woman, on the contrary, is complex; her organs must operate

ILLUSTRATION

for a long period; Nature must consequently have provided them with a special vitality and a peculiar aptitude. If this vitality and aptitude are disturbed by imprudent practices, is it astonishing that the most severe disorders result? It would require more space than I can devote to it to describe to the reader the injurious effects of prevention upon a woman's system. They are numerous and terrible. Those whose consciences or desire for information may lead them to investigate the subject, need only to consult any reputable physician. No man loving truth and the honor of his profession will dispute my words. The writings of Dr. Storer, and other leading practitioners of our own country, are full of warnings upon this point; but the most practical work that has yet come to my knowledge is a simple recital of cases which have come under the observation of Dr. L. F. E. Bergeret, Physician-in-Chief of the Arbois Hospital, in France. It is entitled, *Des Fraudes dans l'Accomplissement des Fonctions Généatrices*, and is published in Paris. Dr. Bergeret mentions amongst the most common results in the woman of incomplete sexual intercourse, such terrible disorders as the following: Acute metritis, chronic metritis, leucorrhœa, menorrhagia, metrorhagia, hæmatocele, fibrous tumors, polypi, uterine hyperæsthesia, hysteralgia, uterine colics and neuroses, neuralgias, mammary congestion, uterine cancer, diseases of the ovaries, and sterility. A breaking-down of the nervous system, derangements of the circulation, of the organs of respiration, and of the digestive system, are common penalties

meted out to both parties. In the man, the evils are of slower growth, but quite as bad. Besides the affections of the nervous system, and the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs, we may mention urethritis, diseases of the prostrate, and impotence, as the consequences of this vicious practice.

Among the various cases reported by Dr. Bergeret, is one bearing directly upon the doctrine of "male continence." It is, in fact, a record of the bad effects of that practice upon one of its votaries. The Doctor describes it as follows:

"Case LXXII.—Man aged forty-nine. He is very nervous and very intelligent. Wealthy, and having the most ardent passions, he gave himself up to great excesses with women. But, as he says himself, he has *ruined his nerves* with them in this respect; *that, in sexual intercourse, he much preferred the preliminaries to the conclusion;*—it was his own expression. *He meant, that he never consummated the generative act, and sought, above all, those refinements of debauchery in which duration is extended as much as possible, and which exhaust the nervous system much more than regular coition.* At this time this man is in the highest degree neuropathic and hypermaniac, because all the physicians whom he has consulted have forbidden him indulgence with women; and, thus placed between the passion which constantly pursues him and the fear of seriously injuring his health, he finds himself, with his immense wealth, the most unfortunate of men. Ideas of suicide often come to his mind. In the mid-

dle of his wakeful nights the evil spirit of luxury torments him with its most terrible attacks. Then he rushes about the house like a madman, and comes early in the morning to ask me, almost with tears in his eyes, if I can allow him a woman only once a week! Nervous disorders are not always so numerous as in the preceding observations. They stop sometimes at a simple depression of the nervous system, like that which often follows non-fraudulent connections. But the nervous prostration must be generally greater after fraudulent coition, because the nervous system is more excited and the action longer."

This much is sufficient to show the estimation in which this practice of "male continence," and all other similar habits, are regarded by science. I have dwelt upon the topic here, because it is certain that this book will fall into the hands of many whose minds have been poisoned with Noyes' pernicious pamphlet in explanation and defence of his filthy practice. The writer has, of course, no hope of influencing the Saints of Oneida, who are too thoroughly given over to debauchery to listen to reason on the subject. They mean to enjoy their lusts and avoid childbearing in their women; and, as they have not scrupled to pervert Nature in every thing connected with the relation of the sexes, so they will persist in their filthy and unnatural acts in this respect, until they pay the penalty.

I am aware that Noyes has declared that the practice, so far from being destructive of health among his followers, has been promotive of it. Concerning the

women of the Community he says: "Our women, as a body, are a great deal healthier than they were before they joined the Community, and healthier than any average lot of the same number in the world." This is merely Mr. Noyes' statement, and, as he is the author of the doctrine he seeks to defend by such an assertion, it goes for nothing. We are fully warranted in doubting it.

Science has established the facts, that, in the world, prevention and incomplete intercourse are destructive of health to both man and woman. No reputable physician would give his sanction to the practice of "male continence" by any of his patients. His knowledge of the evil consequences of the act, and his professional obligations, would oblige him to warn such patient against the practice. Now, if this be true in the world, how can the reverse be true in the Community? The Oneida Saints are mere men and women, made like ourselves, and subject to the same natural laws. They cannot violate those laws with more impunity than is accorded to the Gentile world.

Now we have their own confession, that their practice is to violate Nature's laws in sexual intercourse—to do that which, in the world, is followed by such terrible physical penalties. Noyes claims that this practice is healthful, and attended with the most favorable results. What shall we believe—that Nature acts in one way in the world and in another in the Community?—that a woman in the Community can have her health built up and improved by that which,

in the world, would bring her to her grave? Shall we not rather believe that the Saints have not made a truthful statement of the case, and that their representations upon this point are meant merely to cover up their filthy practices? They have every means of concealing the truth, and we may be sure that, so long as it is to their interest to suppress it, they will do so.

In leaving this subject, I desire to lay before the reader the following views of Dr. Bergeret concerning the *moral consequences* of incomplete or fraudulent intercourse, or, in other words, of "male continence":

"Fraudulent practices greatly favor libertinism.

"He who would not seduce a woman under the condition of having regular connections, which might entail the embarrassment of a pregnancy, will not hesitate, if he be expert in frauds, to carry seduction to its furthest limits, minus conception. The practice of sexual frauds is, therefore, one of the greatest inducements to dissipation. The picture of the evils generated by these frauds ought, then, to banish them, and to favor legitimate and regular connections. It is a great lesson of moral and social hygiene. . . .

"The practice of frauds demoralizes very much by developing the taste and habit of sexual voluptuousness. The junction of the sexes becomes nothing more than the satisfying of a concupiscence, or an obscene lubricity, instead of the union to which Nature invites us by the attraction of pleasure, and which must have for its consequence, pregnancy; that

is to say, a condition calculated to awake in the heart the most serious and sweetest preoccupations.

"The practice of frauds incites in the woman habits of voluptuousness, which lead her into adultery. Besides, how can a husband be inclined to respect a lascivious woman? . . . The girl whom a lover renders lascivious by the habitual employment of frauds, is easily led to debasement, to prostitution, to infamy. . . .

"The practice of frauds, being a serious violation of one of the most sacred laws of Nature, blunts the moral sense of those who are given to it, and makes them less scrupulous to commit other offences. The records of criminal law show that the greatest criminals have for their accomplices concubines, with whom they very rarely have children, because they make use of sexual frauds."

Judged by this light, what shall we say of a Community whose social structure is based upon sexual fraud?

Yet this species of fraudulent intercourse, Noyes has the audacity to declare, "will sooner or later be known to be a very different affair from that kind of sexual commerce against which all criminal statutes are directed." The true meaning of this is, that, in the opinion of the Free Lovers at Oneida, a man may debauch a woman, outrage law, Nature, and common decency, and yet, if he does not produce impregnation in so doing, he is not guilty of adultery. To follow the guidance of Nature, is sinful; to pervert Nature, is holy. This is the Oneida doctrine reduced to plain

English. It is infamous, but we cannot be surprised at it; for it is natural that people living under the ban of society and of the civil and Christian law, and in the daily practice of filth, should resort to any thing for the purpose of defending their vile acts. Were the laws of the State of New York enforced against these people, they would soon discover to their cost that, whatever the future may bring forth, at present they are living in what that law denounces as a state of open adultery.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

Position of Woman in the Community.—Claims of the Saints.—No "Ladies" in the Community.—The Short Dress.—What the Saints Think of it.—Appearance of the Women.—They are Coarse, Unrefined, Unhealthy-Looking, and Vulgar.—Effects of "Male Continence."—True Position of these Women.—The System of Complex Marriage Denied by the Civil Law and by Religion.—Wives, yet not Married.—Immoral from Choice.—These Women are Prostitutes, and Live in a state of Adultery with their Male Companions.—No Modest Women in the Community.—Virtue at a Discount.—Absence of Shame.—Filthy Conversations.—Reasons why the Women cannot Leave the Place.—How the World regards them.—They are utterly Lost to Virtue.—The Oneida Community Women Tried by Solomon's Standard.—A Frightful Condition of Affairs.—Women Sunk in Degradation.—The Duty of every Honest Man to Denounce the Free-Love System.

THE Community claim that woman enjoys in their midst a position very much superior to that which she holds in the world without. "The result of the complex system," says Noyes, "we may sum up by saying that the men are rendered more courteous, women more winning, children are better born, and both sexes are personally free." This is a mere boast, unsupported by facts—indeed, utterly untrue.

There are about one hundred women, more or less, in the Community. Some are old, others young. It needs only a glance to tell that they come from the

humblest walks of life. They are coarse-looking, and, to our mind, lacking in refinement. In short, they cannot be called "ladies," in the conventional sense of that term. They are simply working-women.

The dress adopted by them is peculiar. It may be made of any material and of any color, though brown and blue for out-door wear, white for evening in the meeting-room, are the prevailing tints. Muslin, cotton, and a coarse silk, supply the materials. The hair is cut short and parted down the centre, and I noticed that some of the ladies wore short side-combs. No stays, no crinoline, are allowed. The dress is peculiar, and it requires a decidedly pretty woman to look well in it. The majority, being any thing but pretty, are rendered simply ridiculous by it. It consists of a tunic falling to the knee, loose trowsers of the same material, a vest buttoning high towards the throat, short hanging sleeves, and a straw hat. At a distance, it is impossible to tell the sex of the wearer.

The Saints take great pride in this dress, which they consider the perfection of womanly adornment. "The short dress," says *The Circular*, "was adopted by the women of the Community twenty years ago, very soon after its organization at Oneida, and, so far as we know, the fashion originated with us. Its advantages over the long skirts are, first, health; second, comfort; third, convenience; and these advantages we prefer to the blind and unreasonable dictates of fashion. The costume is thought by some to be deficient in grace; but we are contented with Greenough's principle, that the beautiful is to be found in the use-

ful. Prejudice too frequently disables the judgment, especially in this matter of women's dress. A day's observation only, sometimes reverses previous impressions. We had a visitor of taste, a few days since, whose first exclamation at the short skirts was any thing but complimentary. On the second day he entered in his note-book the following memorandum: 'More reconciled to the short dress.' He admitted, frankly, that for us it was just the thing. This is all we claim.

"We have studied economy, as well as health and convenience, in this mode of dress. Several yards less cloth suffice than would be necessary to make the long skirt. Of course, the weight is proportionately less. Its advantage over the fashionable long skirts for going up and down stairs, getting in and out of carriages, walking, rambling over the farm, and taking part with men in light out-of door work, as is sometimes desirable, is obvious to all."

Various opinions are entertained by visitors concerning this dress. Some express strong approval of it, among whom is Mr. Hepworth Dixon. It appeared to me neither graceful nor attractive, its only merit in my eyes being that it seemed to render its wearers less liable to injury from accidents from the machinery of the silk-works than the ordinary flowing skirt.

The women seemed to me not only coarse and lacking in refinement, but there was about them a peculiar air of unhealthiness, for which I could not account until I understood their doctrine of "male continence." It will need but a casual glance to con-

vince a physician that they are not as sound and vigorous as they would have us believe. The signs of sexual excess seemed to me to be written in their faces as plainly as it was in the countenances of the men. The eyes were heavy and dull, the expression of the entire face was one of fatigue, and there was a sensual, gross look about the mouth. Never have I seen lustfulness written so plainly on the human face as at this Community. This remark applies to both sexes, especially to the male. I did not see one really intellectual countenance, with the exception of the faces of Noyes and Hamilton, and one or two others, in the whole Community. Neither did I find that delicacy and modesty, that fair womanliness, in the appearance of the female Saints, that was so apparent in the girls from Oneida employed in the silk-works. I did not expect to meet with any of the higher and nobler attributes of womanhood in a place like this; but I came away more than ever thankful that those women I know and honor in the world are not like these female Saints. You may go into any of the better-class houses of prostitution in our great cities, and find women of far more attractiveness, of greater outward modesty, and of higher mental culture.

The position of these women is singular, to say the least. They are not married, and yet they are wives. Their system of complex marriage amounts to nothing. Marriage in the United States, and in each and every State, is a civil institution. The law recognizes only such unions as are contracted in accordance with it. In a legal sense, Mrs. Noyes is the

only wife of John Humphrey Noyes. All the other ninety-nine women are simply his mistresses. He dares not claim them as lawful wives. The punishment for bigamy stares him in the face. No woman has a legal claim on him, or on any other member of the Community. She has prostituted herself in the eyes of the law. She is merely living in adultery with her partner in guilt. Christianity brands these unions as sinful, and fully sustains the position of the law. It matters not that Noyes and his followers call this state of affairs their religion. They might as well offer human sacrifices, and claim to be guiltless of murder. The same law that says, "Thou shalt not kill," says also, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." The fundamental points of the civil and Divine law are too well established for any man to set up his individual judgment against them. It matters not how vehemently these Oneida Perfectionists may protest their sincerity, their religious convictions. We judge men by one standard in questions of virtue and morality. There can be but one standard for such things. Judged by this standard, they are either lunatics or knaves. The shrewdness with which they conduct their temporal affairs forbids the first conclusion; and we have no escape from the opinion that they are immoral from choice.

The women of the Community, then, judged by the laws of every civilized nation, and by the precepts of the Christian religion, are simply living in adultery with the men. They are not wives—they are simply mistresses; and it must be plain to every

reader of these pages, that no pure-minded, high-toned woman, even if such a woman *could* at heart be convinced that the act was sinless, would live in a state which Christianity and law brand as adulterous. Yet the Saints impudently tell us that these women are better, purer, nobler, happier, freer, than the pure women around us whom we call wives, mothers, daughters, sisters. In reply to this, I need only say that, in the eyes of religion and law, the women of the Oneida Community, and the poor wretches who ply their infamous trade on Broadway under the cover of the night, stand on the same level. Both are lewd women; both have prostituted their bodies.

We have spoken of the women of the Community as lacking in modesty. What else could be the result of such a system? Can a woman take one hundred men to her arms, granting to each and all the same favors, and retain her modesty? Can she be pure, when she permits herself to indulge in promiscuous intercourse with any number of men? Can she be modest, when she has no sense of shame? Shame, indeed, is discouraged at the Community, or rather, it is entirely abolished. "Sexual shame," says Noyes, "was the consequence of the Fall, and is factitious and irrational. Adam and Eve, while innocent, had no shame; little children have none; other animals have none." Shame is inconsistent with perfection; there is no occasion for it in a Community where every member is holy. Therefore it is banished from Oneida. A very convenient arrangement, truly! for, did shame exist here, it is probable the Community

would soon fall to pieces. The abolition of this feeling relieves them from an immense amount of mortification and discomfort which they would otherwise experience. But, heavens! what a commentary is this upon the Community! A couple of hundred men and women utterly without shame! What need of argument is there after such a confession? Is it possible, reader, to find anywhere on earth one hundred pure women who are shameless?

The filthiness of the conversation these women are required to engage in passes description. Nothing is considered too impure for general discussion in the family-hall. Topics which outrage all decency are discussed by the sexes without reserve. Nothing is too gross, too impure; and the women exhibit, in their discussion, an adeptness—a profundity, I might almost say—which is simply appalling. There is not a first-class brothel in the land where such conversations would be allowed. Yet it is proper and popular here. Doubtless it is an essential part of the system of moral degradation to which these women are subjected.

Woman is in her true position here, say the Saints. Alas for humanity, if this be true! I have shown how she is forced, by the inhuman system which prevails here, into licentiousness at her tenderest age, when she is morally and physically incapable of resistance to the arts of her seducer; how she is sacrificed to the lusts of an old libertine; how she is defrauded by a system which offers no gratification to her maternal instincts, but merely trains her in vice,

and how she is forced into the position of a prostitute. If this be her true position, let us thank God that the world keeps her from reaching it.

"But," it is urged, "if the women are in such a deplorable state in this Community, why do not they go back to their friends, or out into the world, to seek a livelihood?" In what character could a woman of this Community go back to the world? Could she go as one whose fair fame is untarnished—as the companion and equal of virtuous wives and pure maidens? Does not the world regard her as a woman lost to virtue—as an adulteress? Is not this the position in which she is placed? She knows this, and knows that her friends will never take her back as their equal; that the world will never receive her as a pure woman. If she goes out from the Community, she must go as an applicant for pardon from that God whose laws she has violated—from society, whose best instincts she has outraged. She must go back as a penitent Magdalen, and she knows it. Few women, once sunk in vice, especially in vice which has so many allurements, have the moral courage to seek to change their lives. A woman's purity of character is her strongest defence; but when once destroyed, how hard it is to recover it. It is most effectually destroyed by "complex marriage." The truth is, these women have lost their moral instincts, and are incapable of distinguishing between virtue and vice. They have lost the desire to reform. Noyes' pernicious teachings have effectually ruined them. They are utterly poisoned in heart and soul. If, in the few mo-

ments of reflection which must come to them as to others, they feel longings for a better, a higher life, they are crushed back by the reflection that it is too late.

What sadder fate could befall a woman than this —not only to live in open shamelessness, but to outrage religion and morality by calling it holiness and perfection? The lowest street-walker dares not defend her vile trade, and would gladly rise above it if she could. These women, equally guilty, glory in their sin, in their impurity, and call upon their sex to follow their example.

There is no chance here for a woman to exhibit her highest and best qualities. She is the mistress of scores of men, any of whom may use her at will. Her baser instincts are carefully cultivated, and her higher feelings as cunningly blunted and destroyed. Except in rare instances, she is denied the joys of maternity. She is denied the dignity of a wife. No pure, ennobling love can fill her breast, for it cannot fasten upon any one object. That sweet, tender devotion with which woman clings, through good and ill, to the object of her affection, can have no place in the hearts of these Saints. Whatever Noyes may say to the contrary, it has been proved, by the experience of sixty centuries, that the heart can love truly but one object at a time. Pure conjugal love is the spontaneous, irresistible intermingling of two pure hearts—not of two hundred vicious ones—and cannot be regulated by science. It is as high above science as the sun above the astronomer's telescope. It has done too

much to ennoble the human race, to raise it above the level of the brute creation, to fear the assaults of impure desires. There will always be persons whose filthy imaginations will seek to degrade it; but such assaults always recoil from it upon the attacking party.

Ages ago, the wisest of men drew the most exquisite picture of a virtuous wife the world has ever seen, and each succeeding generation has testified to its truthfulness. The higher woman has risen in the social scale, the more lifelike has this matchless creation seemed.

"Her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil.

"She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life.

"Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land.

"Strength and honor are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come.

"Her children rise up, and call her blessed: her husband also, and he praiseth her.

"Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

Were all women like the female Saints at Oneida, who would come up to this standard?

It is natural that these people should denounce the laws they have violated. Every lewd woman has a poor opinion of female virtue; just as every thief thinks any man would steal if subjected to his temp-

tations; but it was reserved for these Saints to hold themselves up as examples to their fellow-creatures, to denounce the laws they have violated as sinful, and declare their abominable filth a state of holiness. The most hardened criminal acknowledges the justice of the laws under which he suffers, and does not dare to call his punishment a persecution. These filthy Saints do not hesitate to do this. They have outraged all virtue, religion, and decency, and blasphemously tell us that they are holy. They have not only dared to do this, but, when public opinion indignantly denounces their abominable practices, they cry out, "Persecution!"

People must be judged by their deeds, not by their professions. "By their fruits shall ye know them," is an infallible test. Noyes and his followers call their blasphemous utterances and filthy practices the only true Christian religion. But I have shown that they have outraged every form of Christianity. There is a point at which liberality in matters of religion must cease; and the Saints of Oneida have passed this point. Therefore it becomes the duty of every Christian man to denounce their practices. There are differences enough among the Christian sects, God knows; but all present a solid front against the teachings and doings of these people. We cannot allow their claim to the dignity of a *religious* sect. Religion is purity. Bible Communism is filth. Religion is morality. Bible Communism is immorality. Neither can we allow the doctrine of complex marriage. Judged by every test known to the religion

of Jesus Christ, it is a state of adultery. Judged by the laws of the land, it is a state of adultery. Judged by science, it is a filthy and unhealthy abomination.

When a woman living in this Community says to me, "I am a wife," I ask, "Where is the evidence of it? Two things only make you a wife: the law of God, and the law of the State in which you live. By neither of these are you married. Both of these laws are plain, and there is no room for doubt in the matter. You have no right to set up your individual opinion against the sense of the Christian Church in all its branches—against the plain law of the land. Your claim to the dignity of wifehood is disallowed by each and every Christian Church—by the moral sentiment of the whole world—by the civil law. You are not a wife." And, if not a wife, what position does a woman occupy who lives in such close relations with a man? She is a harlot. A woman who, clinging to one pure feeling, keeps herself for one lover only, and that from passionate love for him, merits and receives this name. How much more, then, does a woman merit it who makes her person the common property of one hundred men? There is no help for it. We must either sanction the frightful doctrines and practices of the Community; we must either lend our aid to break down the cause of morality and virtue, or we must brand the women of the Community as infamous. It is always painful to apply such epithets to women, but there is no alternative. The English language is very elastic, but not sufficiently so to allow us to call virtuous a woman

whose mode of life is destructive of virtue. Besides this, it is the duty of every honest man to repudiate the claim of these women to equality with the pure maids and matrons of his own household.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JUVENILE SAINTS.

The Children of the Community.—How the Little Ones are Cared for.—The Mother's Duties.—The Children's Department.—Out-Door Life.—"The Children's Hour."—Scene in the Upper Sitting-Room.—"The Evening Talk" with the Children.—Physical Developments.—Statements of Dr. Noyes.—Intellectual Developments.—Statements of Alfred Barron and Portia M. Underhill.—Vital Statistics.—What these Statements are Worth.—The Saints Claim that their Children are Superior to those Born in Lawful Marriage.—This is not True.—Stirpiculture Inaugurated.—Scientific Breeding.—Noyes on Sterility.—A Ridiculous Defence.—True State of the Case.—Sad Fate in store for the Children.—They are destined to Lives of Licentiousness.—A System of Soul-Murder.

With all their immorality, with all their filthiness, it must be confessed that the Saints are kind and attentive to the children in their midst. These little ones are bright and healthy in appearance, but not more so than the children in the village of Oneida.

Children born in the Community are nursed and cared for by their mothers until the age of fifteen months, when they are weaned, and placed in the care of the children's department, where they remain until the age of puberty is reached. During the period of nursing, the mother devotes herself to the care of the child as much as she pleases, and, if she desires it, has an assistant. When the child is placed in the children's department, the mother takes her turn there as

assistant, and is relieved by other sisters at the expiration of a certain period.

The nursery, or children's department, is separate from the main household, and is provided with every thing necessary to the comfort of the little folks; for, in respect to their bodily wants, the Saints are most kind and thoughtful. It is in charge of men and women selected for their skill in the management of children. The smallest children eat in the nursery at a table by themselves. The rest eat at the general table with the family. All attend school, and are taught the rudiments of an English education.

One feature of the life of these children is the great amount of out-door exercise permitted them. The Saints believe in a plenty of fresh air for the little ones; and it is not surprising that, in this fine, healthy country, such treatment renders the physician almost unnecessary in the nursery. Out-door sports and games of all kinds are encouraged, and the children have full liberty to roam, under proper restrictions, over the entire domain. How much this mode of life has done to counteract the effects of the vicious practices of the parents, I am unable to state, but without doubt it has done very much.

The period between six and seven o'clock in the evening is known as "The Children's Hour." Then, all the little ones, some fifty in number, gather in the upper sitting-room, and indulge in games of romps, plays, and songs. It is a pleasant sight—perhaps the pleasantest to be witnessed here. They sing well and enjoy their sports with a heartiness that is really de-

lightful. The old people crowd the hall to witness these plays, and appear to enjoy them as much as the children. When the games are played and the songs sung, some member places his chair in the centre of the floor, and, gathering the little ones around him, relates a story for their amusement. They love the tales of the marvellous, the fortuitous, the lucky, the retributive, or, in other words, just such narratives as are the delight of children the world over. Many of these "talks," as the Saints call them, are religious in their nature. The following is an outline of one of them, as sketched in *The Circular:*

"We have talked with you, children, a great deal about God. You know how to pray to Him and seek Him in your hearts, and you have learned to watch for His providences. Well, it is necessary you should be taught something about another character that we read about in the Bible—that wicked being, called the devil, so that you may learn to beware of him and resist him, as much as you love God. You heard the story of Job the other evening, and recollect how the devil presented himself before the Lord. The Lord said to him, 'Satan, whence comest thou?' Do you remember Satan's answer? He said, '*From going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it.*' Here we get a clue to the devil's character. He is a *restless, wandering, discontented* spirit; he has no *home.* He seeks happiness in going from place to place. He wants some outward excitement. He wants to be diverted all the time. He never 'goes home,' as we call it, to find happiness in his

own heart. He is never quiet. There are other passages in the Bible which give this same description of the devil. Christ says, 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, *seeking rest and finding none.*' Here is Satan again, walking to and fro, restless, discontented, without a home. Then, Peter represents the devil as 'a roaring lion going about seeking whom he may devour.' He is not only a wanderer, but a devourer. The homeless, wandering spirit tries to devour the good wherever it goes. It won't be quiet, and it won't let others be quiet. Now, children, when you feel restless, when you say, 'I don't know what to do,' when you want to go somewhere to feel well, you must think that the devil is trying to make you like himself. He is trying to fill you with his own discontented spirit, and you must resist him. The Bible says, 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.'"

Concerning the healthfulness of the children, and their physical and mental development, &c., I give the following statements, taken from *The Circular*. I have no means of ascertaining their truthfulness, but need hardly remind the reader that they are the statements of parties interested in defending the practices of the Community.

"The critics of Communism have to admit that, in money matters and material surroundings, either the blessing of God is upon us, or we are obeying some great law of nature that brings prosperity; but they say, or insinuate, that, in the deeper and more important matters of propagation and training of chil-

dren, Communism shows signs of failure. We take issue with them on this point. After mature investigation and reflection, our belief and affirmation is, that the same blessing of God and prosperous obedience, that is at work in our material enterprises, is manifest in the life and growth of our children.

"In our last number we stated some facts in relation to the results of the entire administration of our children's houses for twenty years—that there have been but two deaths there in all that time, and that the graduates of that department are now strong men and women, acquitting themselves well in the business of the Community and in institutions of learning abroad. We have much more to say and some good stories to tell about the general career of the children's house and graduates, but, for the present number, will confine ourselves to a survey of that department as it now stands—a look at the present generation of Community children.

"As the main dispute between us and the critics is about the vital and intellectual condition of our children, we have thought it best to take an inventory of the health and brains of those now at the children's house. The following are the results of careful inquiries and measurements by T. R. Noyes, M. D.

REPORT OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION.

"The children's house takes children at about the age of sixteen months, and keeps them to the age of eleven or twelve years. Nursing-infants are otherwise provided for. The present number of inmates is

twenty-five, of whom ten are boys and fifteen are girls.

"The following tables give the age, height, weight, size of head, and size of chest, of each boy and girl, by which physiologists and others, who choose to compare these statistics with average measurements, may form some judgment of the physical condition of these children.

BOYS.

	Age. Years.	Weight. Pounds.	Height. Ft.	Height. In.	Size of Head. Inches.	Size of Chest. Inches.
Clarence	12	76½	4	10	21	29½
Harley	7	47¾	3	11	21	24½
Wilfred	7	46½	3	10	22	23½
George	6	43½	3	7⅜	21	23½
Harold	6	36¾	3	6¼	19½	21½
Temple	5	36½	3	5¼	20¾	21¼
Ormond	4	42¼	3	6	21	22⅜
Ransom	3	35⅜	3	1½	20⅝	22½
Horace	2	29¼	2	10½	19⅝	21¼
Eugene	2	28½	2	9	20	21¾

GIRLS.

	Age. Years.	Weight. Pounds.	Height. Ft.	Height. In.	Size of Head. Inches.	Size of Chest. Inches.
Lilly	11	71	4	6	20⅞	26½
Rose	11	39¼	3	8	20¼	21⅜
Edith	10	65½	4	6¼	21¼	26
Leonora	9	55	4	2½	19⅜	24
Marion	9	55⅜	3	11⅜	21⅛	25
Mabel	9	64½	4	2½	21⅜	26½
Emily	7	42	3	7⅜	19	23¼
Theodora	7	45	3	9½	20⅜	22
Anna	6	43½	3	7⅜	19⅜	22
Fanny	5	39⅜	3	7	19⅞	22½
Cosette	5	34½	3	6½	19½	22⅜
Lucy	5	37½	3	4⅜	20½	22¼
May	4	31½	3	1	19⅝	21
Virginia	4	31¼	3	2½	20	21½
Maud	3	31½	2	11¼	19⅝	22

"Seventeen of these children have been always healthy, or only subject to the ordinary slight illnesses of young persons. Several had the scarlet fever when it was prevalent in the neighborhood; but the *sequelæ* have been slight.

"Five were quite delicate in infancy, but have steadily improved under the care of the department, and are now, in the ordinary sense of the term, healthy children. One of them has a habit of constipation, brought on by bad management soon after birth, but is likely to outgrow it.

"Two, that are sisters, inherit diseased tendencies, their mother's family having been very scrofulous. The elder (Rose in the table) was deformed by rachitis (rickets) at five years of age, but is now otherwise in good health. The younger has exhibited a tendency to the same disease, but appears to be safely passing the crisis of danger.

"One boy (Wilfred in the table) was the offspring of parents who were both deficient in physical stamina, but bright intellectually. He has shown some tendency to hydrocephalus, but is outgrowing it. He is very ingenious, and bids fair to be a strong, healthy man.

"None of these children show any signs of imbecility. The only abnormal brain is that of Wilfred, which is a little too large. The only deformity is that of Rose. There are no 'sore eyes' among them, or other chronic local diseases. T. R. Noyes."

"It would be easy here to go into discriminations

that would prove that what little there is in the above showing that is unfavorable, is not chargeable to Communism. But we ask no favors. Let the critics make the most of the weaknesses reported. There is nothing at all resembling the degeneracy which they wish to make out. It is a cleaner bill of health and brains than they can find in any common neighborhood. And now, to complete the testimony, two school-teachers shall say what they think of the Community children.

TESTIMONY OF A SCHOOLMASTER.

"Having noticed that several obscure, not to say foolish and prejudiced, writers for the press, have undertaken to disparage the Community, by representing that its children are low-strung and idiotic, I beg to offer testimony that has never been in place until now.

"1. I have taught in the common schools of Vermont, North Carolina, Michigan, and also in the schools of the Community, both at Wallingford and Oneida, and having, besides, some smattering of phrenology, it is reasonable to suppose that I should have some inducements to take the measure of our children by the standards of a schoolmaster.

"2. There is not an idiot nor underwit in the Community; and none such were ever born here. And this is more than I can say of any neighborhood in which I have lived previous to joining this Association. There was idiocy in the school-district in

which I was born, and there were cases of idiocy and imbecility in every single neighborhood in which it was my fortune to teach.

"3. I have always found that a class of scholars born in the Community was fifty per cent. brighter and more studious than any school I have taught in the world. In my zeal and satisfaction I have often said to myself: 'These scholars are a hundred per cent. better than any I ever knew in the common schools.'

"4. I am confident that the spirit and discipline of the Community, including, as it does, a hearty and intelligent confession of Christ as an indwelling Saviour, has, in the end, an effect to quiet the passions and clear the head, and cannot, if allowed a fair chance, fail to rear children of the most happy temperaments. ALFRED BARRON."

TESTIMONY OF A SCHOOLMISTRESS.

"One of the pleasantest occupations of my Community life has been that of a school-teacher. With a previous experience of about four years in the common schools of the world, I could not but contrast the children of the Community with those I had formerly taught. The majority of my former scholars have ranged from the ages of five to twelve, and among children here of the same age I quickly discovered that they were more easily governed; that they had been taught to watch within for the little seeds of discord that spring up and cause unhappiness

among themselves; to love study, not for the sake of emulation and competition, but that they might come more into sympathy with God, who knows all things.

"For mental ability, I have found them to be rather above the average, particularly those born in the Community. Many of them possess a knowledge of geography that other persons might envy. The location of places, the points of interest about Nineveh, Babylon, Rome, and other places, the noted mountains and rivers, and the ocean, with its capes and islands, are known to the Community children not in a dry, mechanical way, but as exciting realities. They will tell you about them with a brightness of expression and earnestness that makes you almost feel they have been there themselves. Living together, they stimulate each other, and create an enthusiasm that makes them studious, and desirous of acquiring knowledge. This is caught by the little ones, who very early show a love for books. They learn their letters among themselves, and, on coming to school, need restraining rather than urging. The wide range of thought in the Community is felt by the children. In general knowledge they are superior to those in the world. Their memories are excellent. A little girl of ten recited a long chapter of 'Hiawatha' without being prompted a word. They frequently get up little entertainments of music, tableaux, and plays, that are original, and both amusing and edifying.

"Teaching here has improved me more than any previous experience.

"PORTIA M. UNDERHILL."

Two years later (March, 1870), the same paper gives the following vital statistics:

"Dunglison's Medical Dictionary gives the mortality under two years of age, in Philadelphia, at 31 per cent. of the total mortality. This is a higher rate than obtains in the country. Mortality from 2 to 15 years of age, 14 per cent.

"The United States Census of 1860 gave the following rates in New England and New York State. They are probably some higher than would be the case in a purely country population, in consequence of the fact that the returns of the two great cities of New York and Boston are included:

Under 2 years of age	.25	per cent.	of total deaths.
Between 2 and 15 years	.20	"	"
From birth to 15 years	.45	"	"

"The population of these States was about 6,000,000. Estimating the population of New York city and Boston at 1,500,000, or one quarter of the total population, and supposing in the city the percentage of infant mortality in the total deaths to be double that of the country, we must make a reduction in the mortality of the first class to represent the country mortality of these States. They will then stand:

Under 2 years of age	.20	per cent.	of total deaths.
Between 2 and 15 years	.20	"	"
Mortality to 15 years	.40	"	"

"Let us now see how this rate of mortality in the

two periods of childhood compares with that in the Community.

"Under 2 years of age (the limit to this period is put at the time when the children pass from the care of their mothers to that of the children's department, which is a little under 2 years of age), the mortality in the twenty-one years of the Community's residence at Oneida has been 16 per cent. of the total deaths in the same time.

"Mortality from 2 to 15 years (period during which children are cared for by the Community), 8.8 per cent. of total deaths. This includes a healthy girl who had left the care of the children's department, and was very nearly 15 years of age, who was carried off suddenly by diphtheria, which was prevailing in the neighborhood as an epidemic. If this case were excepted, the mortality in the children's department would be reduced to 6.6 per cent. of the total deaths.

"This percentage is caused by the death of two boys at eight years, and one girl at two. They are the only deaths which have occurred in the children's department, which has cared for a constant average of thirty children for 21 years. The death of the little girl occurred from whooping-cough. She showed a peculiar susceptibility to the dangerous form of the disease, which was evidently inherited, as a relative died in a similar way several years ago. The disease was quite harmless with the other children.

"The mortality from birth to 15 years of age, including both periods, was 24.8 per cent. of the total deaths. Let us recapitulate:

RATIO OF MORTALITY TO TOTAL DEATHS IN TWO PERIODS.

First Period.—Under 2 Years of Age.

City mortality (Philadelphia).....31 per cent.
Country mortality (New England and New York, exclusive of large cities).....20 "
Oneida Community mortality.....16 "

Second Period.—2 to 15 Years.

City mortality (Philadelphia).....14 per cent.
Country mortality (New England and New York).....20 "
Oneida Community mortality..... 8.8 "

Both Periods.—From Birth to 15 Years.

City mortality (Philadelphia).....45 per cent.
Country mortality (New England and New York).....40 "
Oneida Community mortality.....24.8 "

"With new buildings in process of erection, and entering upon an era of scientific propagation, we expect the next twenty years to show still more favorable results of Community-life."

These statistics do not by any means vindicate the theory of the Saints. We are warranted in doubting their fairness, and I do most emphatically deny that the children of the Community are superior to the children of the rest of Madison County. Their *physique* is no better, no more vigorous. They are no healthier. They are no brighter, no merrier, no more intelligent, and the best that can be said for them is, that they compare favorably with other children. The forcing system may make them "Solomons at five;" but let us see if they will not verify the old

adage, and be "fools at thirty." I by no means accept the fact that these little people are crammed with "book-learning," as evidence of their intellectual superiority. It is a gross injury done them by the Saints, and one for which Nature will exact a severe penalty.

But all the children in the Community are not "natives to the manor born." I made particular inquiries upon this point, and was told that many of them had been brought here by their parents. "For twenty years and more," says Noyes, "we have refrained from having children to a great extent, counting less than two a year in a population of forty families." This, he says, was from motives of expediency. Yet the Saints tell us the parental instinct is not smothered here. And this, too, in the face of such a confession, covering an experience of over twenty years. How are we to distinguish between the children born on the place, and those brought here after their birth? Doubtless Mr. Noyes will place the imported children in the list of casualties, and tell us that no one native-born has a place there. There is a tacit agreement or understanding between all the Saints, to prevent the world from ascertaining the true state of affairs at the Community. To this end, they do not hesitate to misrepresent facts to visitors, as a careful analysis of many of their statements has convinced the writer. Why, then, shall we accept their statistics as authentic?

Of late years the Saints have agreed to relax the severity of their rule of male continence, and have commenced a series of experiments in propagation.

In it they have inaugurated a system of *Stirpiculture*, or scientific breeding of children. A man and woman are carefully set apart by the votes of the Community for experiments of this kind. They are selected for their superior physical or mental qualities, and having by the practice of male continence been preserved, the one from frequent generation and the other from frequent child-bearing, their offspring is expected to be superior to the average child begotten in ordinary life. Though they admit that their efforts have not been crowned with the perfect success for which they ultimately hope, they still assert that they have produced children both physically and mentally superior to those born in lawful wedlock. This I deny. I did not see such children at the Community. The best I can say for them is, that they compare favorably with other children. This ability to bear children, Noyes tells us, "casts to the winds the predictions of sterility on the part of our women as the result of our social practice." Sterility, Mr. Noyes, is not the inevitable result to the woman of fraud. It is merely *one* of a long train of evils. No physician ever contends that frauds must of necessity produce sterility. The result is different in different women. Furthermore, physicians advise pregnancy as a cure of the ills caused by frauds.

This proves also, says Noyes, that the men "have not lost their potency by their continence—which last deduction is strengthened by the fact that the fathers in four of these cases are veterans of the first generation, who have practiced male continence longest and

most, while the other four fathers are young men of the second generation, who have never known any other practice." How about the women, Mr. Noyes? Are they veterans in the practice, too? I doubt it. They are, most probably, young women whose experience in the filthy art is not of long duration.

The fate in store for these children, who, whether better or worse born, come into the world innocent and pure-minded, is terrible indeed. Innocent and pure-minded they are allowed to remain until they reach the age of thirteen or fourteen—the period at which they are initiated into the dirty practices of the Community. At this age, a period so critical for both soul and body, their education in impurity begins. The pamphlet of Noyes on the subject of "Male Continence" is put into their hands, and they are carefully instructed in the mysteries of the sexual relations, as those mysteries are practised at the Community. Their thoughts are drawn out of the pure, healthy channels marked out for them by Nature, and turned into the mire of lewdness. Then, when they are deemed sufficiently instructed, they are taught the practical part of the course. The girls are seduced by the old men, and the boys are given to the embraces of the old women.

"We abhor rapes," says Noyes. No villain assaulting a child seeks to contaminate her soul. He violates her person, but he does not seek to harm her soul. These wretches begin by poisoning the minds of the children to such an extent that violence is not necessary. They sully the purity of their minds and

hearts, and thus render them an easy prey to their vile arts.

He who can look unmoved at the innocent children playing about the grounds of the Community, or brightening with their mirthfulness the children's hour, must be a very hard-hearted man. I could not do so without a feeling of despair coming over me. So young, so pure, and yet destined to such a fate! Only a few years more, and those sweet little maidens will be stripped of their innocence, robbed of their purity, and numbered among the thousands who have fallen before the seducer's arts. It is horrible to contemplate. Worse than all, who knows but that the scoundrel appointed to seduce her may be her own father?

"This gentleman," said one of the Saints to Mr. Pomeroy, pointing to a companion, "has two daughters in the Community. One of these daughters acts as his 'mother!'"

And yet Mr. Noyes tells us, "Of such are the kingdom of heaven."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS.

Views of the Saints as to Intellectual Development.—The Community Schools.—The Primary Department.—An Embryo College.—System of Studies Pursued.—The Professors.—Order of Recitations.—Necessity for Education in any Community.—Intellectual Condition of the Saints.—The Majority below the Average Standard.—Learning and Refinement really Foreign to such a State of Affairs.—What will be the Result of Education, honestly given, upon this System of Filthy Abominations?

The educational department of the Oneida Community is as yet in its infancy. The primary school has always existed, and has trained the children of the Community from the establishment of the institution. The more advanced classes, however, are of comparatively recent date. At present efforts are being made to establish a Perfectionist College, which the Saints hope at some future day to elevate to the dignity of a University.

The children's school is located in the Seminary building, and is in charge of a female member of the Community. Here the little ones are taught the alphabet and the rudiments of a primary education. Then, some competent person takes them in hand and

trains them for the College, instructing them in the various branches usually taught in a grammar-school. The discipline is not very rigid, it being the object of the Saints to render study attractive to the pupils.

The more advanced classes constitute the College as it exists at present. These pupils are between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five, and are sixty-five in number, twenty-nine being men and thirty-six young women. The old men and old women seem to regard efforts in this direction on their part as thrown away. The young and middle-aged Saints, however, seem quite enthusiastic, and, as their opportunities for acquiring information before entering the Community have been limited, seem determined to do all in their power to make up their deficiencies in this respect.

This school was established in the Fall of 1869. Previous to this, regular instruction had been given in the elementary branches, but nothing of any consequence had been done in teaching the higher courses. There were those in the Community who dabbled in Latin, Greek, French, German, history, algebra, geometry, drawing, astronomy, and a few other scientific studies, but no regular or really valuable instruction in them was given. The new Seminary building was finished and ready for use, and Dr. T. R. Noyes and Mr. J. J. Skinner announced their purpose of teaching a regular collegiate course to all the young people of the Community who were willing to avail themselves of the privilege. "True," says *The Circular*, "it might take longer than at Yale or Harvard, as our scholars spend but half of each day in study; but

then, we are at home all the time, and can be as many years about it as we choose."

In pursuance of the plan of Messrs. Noyes and Skinner, classes were formed, studies assigned, and hours for recitation designated. Mathematics, they argue, is the foundation of all scientific knowledge, and therefore they require all their pupils to devote a certain time to it. Very few persons, they say, have a natural liking for it, and, if left to themselves, the majority would pay no attention to it. "We intend," they say, "that all shall be well up in the usual branches studied at college, and then each can make a specialty of any one."

At nine A. M. the first recitation commences. This is Professor Skinner's class in algebra. It consists of twenty-five members, about equally divided as to sex, and, I am assured, the girls are fully equal in capacity to the young men. At ten, Professor Skinner hears a recitation in trigonometry, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and in physics on the other days of the week. The trigonometry class consists of one young woman and ten young men; but in the physics class the sexes are about evenly divided. At two o'clock Professor Noyes hears another class in algebra recite. At other hours there are recitations in the languages. Three days in the week Professor Noyes has a class in chemical analysis. The lecture-room and laboratory occupied by him have been already described. The lecture-room is small, but conveniently arranged. Folding-doors separate it from the laboratory, and these, being thrown open during the weekly lectures

on chemistry, display the interior of the laboratory, and afford the best opportunity for exhibiting the experiments with which the lectures are accompanied.

There are also several classes in arithmetic, geography and grammar, for those who are found deficient in these branches, but I am informed that these will not be considered a part of the regular course after the first year, but will be attended to in the primary school.

The establishment of this school was a wise measure. No Community, either Perfect or imperfect, can exist without education; and if these Saints mean to hold themselves entirely aloof from the world, they have done well in providing in their own midst the means of supplying the mind with that food without which it must degenerate. The majority of the members of the Community are sadly deficient in education, in spite of their boasts of the intellectual character of their institution. There are a few men of real ability in the place, and these have naturally acquired such an influence over the Community that their views, their wishes, have the force of laws. The rest are persons of low position in life, plain working-people, whose experience in the higher social life of the country is exceedingly mythical in character. None of them have ever moved in what the world calls good society. They are very far from being intellectual, and some are scarcely intelligent. I saw very few men or women who impressed me with the excellence of their mental qualities. Go into any factory in the land in which men and women are em-

ployed, and you will see there displayed the average intelligence of the Oneida Community, and just the same class of people, socially considered. The majority are sadly ignorant of their mother-tongue. If any one doubts this, let him take up almost any number of *The Circular*, and see how the "Queen's English" suffers at the hands of the Saintly contributors to that journal. A few days at the Community will complete the conviction.

Yet these half-educated, badly-bred people undertake to denounce the religious and worldly customs and ideas prevailing beyond the limits of their domain as sinful and improper. They talk of perfection, when they have no evidence of it in themselves. They presume to denounce all society as impure, when they have never known any but the lowest phases of it. They denounce the Christian religion as a sham, while ignorant of the highest and holiest Christian experiences. They talk of science, when they are ignorant of the first principles of it.

Were the members of the Community drawn from the best walks of life, from amongst the refined and educated classes, we should find a very different state of affairs prevailing. Thoroughly intellectual people would soon discover the shams imposed upon them; persons of refinement and moral culture would revolt at the grossness of the system in force, and, though the manufacturing interests might go on as usual, we should see the social features reorganized upon a very different plan. Only a Community in whose members the intellectual faculties are sunk below the sen-

sual can exist upon the plan of the Oneida Community. We may therefore reasonably expect, should the Saints succeed in diffusing real learning, and not a mere smattering of it, in their midst, that the next ten years will witness serious modifications in the social system.

They are not satisfied, however, with the facilities afforded by their home school. Three of their most promising young men are maintained as students in the scientific and professional departments of Yale College, and I am told that it is the intention of the Community to supply their places with others on their graduation. I could not learn, however, whether these three *perfect* young Saints were the most distinguished of all the students of Yale. In order to afford them a permanent boarding-place while at college, a family is established at New Haven, Connecticut.

CHAPTER XVII.

ADMISSIONS.

Applications for Admission.—Character of Applicants.—Inducements Offered.—The Saints not Anxious to Increase their Numbers.—Statement of *The Circular*.—A Chance for a Good-Looking Female.—Always Easy to Find a Vacancy for Her.—What is Required of Novices.—Admission into Full Fellowship.—Duties of the Members.—Separation from the World, Entire Devotion to the Community, Relinquishment of all Personal Property, Belief in and Public Acceptance of Noyes' Blasphemous Religious Doctrines, and a Total Surrender of the Person to the Abominations of Free Love, required of every Member.

Applications for admission into the Community come in considerable numbers from various parts of the Union, from Canada, and even from Europe. The majority of these letters come from persons in the humbler walks of life, but many are from persons of education, men, generally, who wish to enter the Community merely to gratify their lusts at a small cost to their pocket. In a recent number of *The Circular*, Noyes says: "Applications for admission still continue to pour in upon us; fifty more enthusiastic individuals having intimated to us in various ways that their happiness depends upon a residence within our circle. Most of the letters are addressed to J. H. N. under the titles of 'Reverend,' 'President,' 'Father,' 'His Excellency,' 'Worthy Patriarch of the Free-Love

Society,' &c. The inducements which are held out to us as good reasons for favorable answers to these various applicants are numerous. One thinks his youth, his healthy condition, and his good looks, are sufficient guarantees. Another speaks of good family connections and prospective wealth. Here are two who will each bring a friend and $5,000. A. says, 'If I am pleased with your by-laws' (which he requests should be sent to him), 'I can procure for the Society some ten more men.' B. offers himself and a party of friends. C. grumbles because we do not answer his letters, and declares that, if he had made an application to any of the religious Communities in the United States, he would have been 'welcomed with open arms.' As an extra inducement, he offers to bring a young lady with him, whom he describes as 'young, virtuous, and handsome.'"

The Saints are not anxious to increase their number just now. They have as many perfect beings in their Community as they can well manage, and the leaders are too sharp and shrewd to risk their future success by the indiscriminate admission of strangers. For the purpose of discouraging applications of this kind, the following notice is published in every number of *The Circular:*

"The Oneida Community, and Branch Communities, are constantly receiving applications for admission, which they have to reject. It is difficult to state in any brief way all their reasons for thus limiting their numbers; but some of them are these: 1. The parent Community at Oneida is full. Its buildings

are adapted to a certain number, and it wants no more. 2. The Branch Communities, though they have not attained the normal size, have as many as they can well accommodate, and must grow in numbers only as they can grow in capital and buildings. 3. The kind of men and women who are likely to make the Communities grow, spiritually and financially, are scarce, and have to be sifted out slowly and cautiously. It should be distinctly understood, that these Communities are not asylums for pleasure-seekers, or persons who merely want a home and a living. They will receive only those who are very much in earnest in religion. They have already done their full share of labor in criticising and working over raw recruits, and intend hereafter to devote themselves to other jobs (a plenty of which they have on hand), receiving only such members as seem likely to help, and not hinder, their work. As candidates for Communism multiply, it is obvious that they cannot all settle at Oneida and Wallingford. Other Communities must be formed; and the best way for earnest disciples generally is to work and wait, till the spirit of Pentecost shall come on their neighbors, and give them Communities right where they are. Our ambition is not to increase our numbers at Oneida and Wallingford, and build up a little local sect, but to set a good example that shall light the way to universal Communism."

It has been stated that the Oneida Communists demand large sums from their converts as initation fees. This is not true. Recruits of the proper kind

are admitted "without money and without price;" but just at present men are not admitted upon any terms. There is reason to believe, however, that, should a good-looking young woman present herself here and request to be admitted into the Community, her desires would be granted. The graybeard Saints would discover with wonderful rapidity that their affinities ran directly to her, and to her alone.

The customs of the Community require a novitiate of one year, in order that the convert's fitness for membership may be thoroughly tested; but it is said that this is not always rigidly insisted upon. The Saints themselves are very reticent upon this point, but enough is known in the neighborhood of the Community to make it tolerably certain that the following is the method of dealing with new members.

For a short while after entering the Community, the novices are permitted to wear their accustomed dresses, but as soon as they are admitted into full fellowship, the women are required to don the peculiar dress of the Community. All members are required to devote themselves to some species of employment, and the new members are assigned to such labor as is most agreeable to them, and in which their superiors think they will succeed best. There is an implied if not a direct pledge given to devote themselves, body and soul, to the interests of the Community, and to keep its affairs secret from the outside world. If the convert has money, it must be thrown into the common fund, his or her only return from it being the food, shelter, and clothing given to each of its mem-

bers by the Community. No one can retain any thing as private property, nor can any one possess even exclusive control over his or her own person. It is expected that all relationships known to the outside world shall cease, and that here men and women shall be simply brothers and sisters. Each member is to love all the others alike, showing no special preference for any one; and each must be ready at any time, unless prevented by sickness, or some other obstacle valid in the opinion of the Community, to gratify the desires of any one desiring his or her society. All are required to give themselves up to unhesitating debauchery, subject only to the restriction of male continence. If the commission of incest becomes necessary to the gratification of the lusts of any member, the other party must not hesitate. All are brothers and sisters here, and each one must be loved alike. Once initiated into the mysteries of the place, the convert goes on deeper and deeper into the life that has already been described in these pages.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

Publications of the Oneida Community.—The "History of American Socialisms."—"The Trapper's Guide."—"Salvation from Sin."—"The Handbook of the Oneida Community."—"Male Continence Explained."—*The Circular.*—Terms of Publication.

THE publications of the Saints are as yet few in number. They consist of their newspaper, *The Circular;* a pamphlet of 48 octavo pages, entitled, "Salvation from Sin the End of Christian Faith," by J. H. Noyes; "The Handbook of the Oneida Community; with a Sketch of its Founder, and an Outline of its Constitution and Doctrines," evidently the work of Mr. Noyes; "The Trapper's Guide; a Treatise on the Capture of Fur-Bearing Animals, by S. Newhouse; with Narratives and Illustrations;" "Male Continence; or, Self-Control in Sexual Intercourse. A Letter of Inquiry Answered by J. H. Noyes;" and the "History of American Socialisms, by John Humphrey Noyes." This last is a large octavo of 678 pages, handsomely printed and bound, and is claimed by the Saints as one of their publications, although it bears the imprint of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

As I have already stated, the composition and press-work were done at Wallingford. It is the only work of the kind in print, and contains full and complete histories of nearly all the socialistic experiments in the United States. It is of considerable value as the only work upon the subject. The following notices of it, from two of the best periodicals in the Union, are offered here in place of any comments of my own.

[*From the Overland Monthly.*]

"History of American Socialisms, by John Humphrey Noyes.—The first impression received by the reader, as he dips into Mr. Noyes' work, will probably be, that the author is a rather shallow enthusiast, more imperfectly acquainted with the history of his race than is pardonable in one who undertakes a contribution to it. The second impression will, perhaps, be interrogative of the first. And the third and final impression is likely to acquit Mr. Noyes of general historical ignorance, and to convict the reader's conscience of a special ignorance in himself *quoad* the subject of this book, although the author's enthusiasm remains, impressing the character and nullifying the value of his philosophy. The reader will also, probably, detect himself giving thanks for the amount of 'pure cussedness' inherent in human nature, which, by restraining the diffusion of Communism, maintains society in a depraved and wicked condition, with which he is conscious of being in cordial sympathy. As to conclusions, he will, probably, differ in every possible respect from Mr. Noyes, and so far will expe-

rience a grateful sense of superiority and self-satisfaction.

"Thanks are due to Mr. Noyes that his book is a magazine of exceedingly effective missiles against that Communism in which he believes, to which he has devoted his life in which he is a leader, and of which he appears to be both a capable expounder and a just exponent. He helps in our perception of the social evils against which Communism is a reaction, and thus far he assists us in dealing with them.

"He seems to establish that that practical industry upon which communal existence necessarily rests, can be maintained under the communal organization only by religious enthusiasm, and we take comfort from this proposition. We know that under free education religious uniformity cannot be maintained; and we draw from this book a fresh lesson as to the paramount importance of maintaining education absolutely free. From the same proposition it appears that the communal organizations must be severally confined to their separate religious sects; hence they will be mutually antagonistic and neutralizing. Moreover, each must, in the nature of creed, be the subject of schism, and hence no single one is likely to attain a degree of power which shall be mischievous to the commonweal. Their function in enforcing industry is good. Their power for evil must be first exerted in the direction of suppressing education; and should this ever be found to overbalance their good work, it can be counteracted by making education compulsory.

"The book itself is written in so concise a way,

that a just notion of its contents can scarcely be given in less than its own number of 670 pages. It is a succinct memorandum of the American experiments in Communism, made under the Owen and Fourier impulses. Among the more interesting portions are those relating to that Brook Farm, which is a cherished memory with us from the associations with which Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller have invested it, and to the surviving Communities of Shakers and Free Lovers. The latter portions are rather more unsatisfactory than most of the publications of these Communities. They tell little more than those portions of the story—the money-results of Community labor—which are least important for the social student to know, although most important for the Communities to have known. The Shaker chapter gives some new hints of the wretched state of intellectual degradation with which we were already acquainted. The Oneida chapter gives still dimmer hints of a moral perversion for which, in its practical development, we can only find a parallel in those portions of the moral history of mediæval cloisterism which Lecky *could* not publish, and of which glimpses are had in Rabelais and Boccaccio. Apparently fair in his sketches of the dead and buried Communities, Mr. Noyes suppresses the story of those portions of the Shaker organization which are analogous with that which is distinctive in his own, and, when he comes to the story of the Oneida Community, is almost wholly silent as to its practical operation, except in money-results. Through the imperfect and vague sug-

gestion of other facts which he does give us, we perceive darkly the moral perversion of which we have spoken.

"Parts of the book are unconsciously ludicrous; and written, as they are, in a sincere and earnest spirit, produce the best effects of grave, realistic burlesque. But this is by no means the general, nor the strongest, effect. The latter is rather to induce, for the weakness and depravity of humanity, a pity somewhat tempered by contempt. The record is one of failure, and is full of melancholy. It is an illustration, upon a great scale, of the incisive satire of the introductory chapter to the 'Strange Story.' It compels us to recognize an amount of intellectual and moral darkness subsisting around us, which is at first almost disheartening. It is only by recalling the true story of the centuries which have preceded us, that we refresh our faith in the present and hope for the future. When thus refreshed, and we turn to deal with the difficulties and evils of our time, we find that we have obtained some new material to work with, and perhaps some increase in the power of working, from this 'History of American Socialisms.' A knowledge of its contents is, in our judgment, important to the student of social philosophy, while it will be found to abound in matter upon which the merely curious will alight with agreeable surprise."

[*From the Princeton Review.*]

"History of American Socialisms, by John Humphrey Noyes.—We have looked over this 'His-

tory of American Socialisms' with unusual but melancholy interest, partly arising from the nature of the subject, partly personal, because we knew the author when the first germs of the principles, whose ultimate development we find here, were forming in his mind. As fellow-students in the same theological seminary, we were in frequent contact, and had much animated discussion over the first beginning and original genesis of the ultraisms which at last flowered out into that system of sanctimonious licentiousness unblushingly avowed and defended in this volume, in the following terms:

"'We affirm that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money, would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness with regard to women and children. Paul expressly places property in women and property in goods in the same category, and speaks of them together as ready to be abolished by the advent of the kingdom of heaven.'—P. 625. 'The abolishment of social restrictions is involved in the anti-legality of the gospel. It is incompatible with the state of perfected freedom toward which Paul's gospel of "grace without law" leads, that man should be allowed and required to love in all directions, and yet to express that love in but one direction. In fact, Paul says, with direct reference to sexual intercourse, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of

any." This is using gospel liberty as a cloak of licentiousness, and turning the grace of God into lasciviousness.

"We recollect when what the author calls 'the Revival afflatus, soon landed him in a new experience and new views of the way of salvation, which took the name of Perfectionism. This was in February, 1834.' He was equally addicted to most of the *isms* of that period, so fermenting, and so prolific of this sort of progeny. He had more than average intellectual activity and acuteness, but wanted breadth and solidity. He had a great proclivity for working and heating his mind on single points, until it was inflamed in those fanatic ultraisms which find their legitimate issue in unsettling all moral standards, and inaugurating the sway of Antinomian licentiousness. He sets up to be a teacher and guide of men. He can be such only as he is a beacon to warn them.

"Nevertheless, his book has value. It is a complete account of all the social abnormities of this country which have tried to substitute some form of Communism for family life, and for the constitution established by God in nature and revelation. All the socialisms set on foot in the land by the disciples of Owen, Fourier, the Spiritualists, Shakers, and others, are faithfully portrayed. To the student of sociology who would learn the morbid anatomy and pathology of the subject, we would commend this large and beautifully-printed volume."

"The Trapper's Guide" bears the imprint of Mason Brothers, New York, and is devoted exclusively

to the principles of free sport, instead of free love. It will be found of considerable value to the sportsman, and enjoys the honor of being the only really useful book published by the Saints.

The pamphlet called "Salvation from Sin" is a species of sermon by Noyes, and is devoted to an exposition of some of the religious doctrines of the Saints. It possesses no special merit, and will hardly be regarded by the Gentile world as a conclusive argument upon the subject.

"The Handbook of the Oneida Community" is prepared principally for the use of visitors, but is sent over the entire country to parties ordering it by mail. It contains a description of the combined Communities, a sketch of Noyes, and a summary of the religious and social doctrines of the Saints.

The pamphlet explaining "Male Continence" is a filthy abomination. It does not rise to the dignity of a scientific paper, but is simply a disgusting explanation and a very weak defence of one of the most reprehensible forms of obscenity.

The Circular is a weekly journal devoted to the interests of the Community, and to the spread of the doctrines and practices of the Saints. It is edited by Mr. Noyes, and is a curious mixture of religious cant, infidelity, and obscenity. No reputable family would suffer it to enter their midst, and it is not a paper which a gentleman would put into the hands of a lady for perusal by her. Yet the Saints regard it as the most perfect journal in the world. A careful perusal of it is deemed a duty on the part of each

member. The diaries of the Oneida and Wallingford Communities occupy several columns of each issue, and will be found of service to persons wishing fuller information on the subject of Communism. The terms upon which the paper is issued are thus stated in each number:

"*The Circular* is sent to all applicants, whether they pay or not. It costs and is worth at least one dollar per volume. Those who want it and ought to have it, are divisible into three classes, viz.: 1. Those who cannot afford to pay one dollar; 2. Those who can afford to pay *only* one dollar; and 3. Those who can afford to pay *more* than one dollar. The first ought to have it free; the second ought to pay the cost of it; and the third ought to pay enough more than the cost to make up the deficiencies of the first. This is the law of Communism. We have no means of enforcing it, and no wish to do so, except by stating it and leaving it to the good sense of those concerned. We take the risk of offering *The Circular* to all, without price.

"Free subscriptions received only from persons making application for themselves, not by request of one friend for another.

"All subscriptions must be renewed at the end of each volume, or they will be stricken from the list, cases of prepayment beyond the end of a volume excepted."

CHAPTER XIX.

LEADING FREE LOVERS.

Social Character of the Saints.—Sketches of John H. Noyes, George Cragin, Sr., James Hamilton, Dr. T. R. Noyes, Dr. George E. Cragin, Sewell Newhouse, H. G. Allen, Mr. Jocelyn, Mr. Burt, John H. and C. Cragin, Frank W. Smith, J. W. Norton, George W. Noyes, J. J. Steiner, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Bolls, Mrs. J. H. Noyes, Mrs. H. K. Skinner, Sister Jocelyn, the poetess, Miss C. A. Macknett, Charlotte M. Leonard, Harriet M. Worden, Augusta E. Hamilton, &c.—Specimens of Free-Love Poetry.—Personal Appearance of the Saints.—Very Low Physical and Intellectual Standard.

The majority of the Saints at Oneida and Wallingford came from New England, and belong to the humbler classes of that section. They are chiefly persons of limited education, some being almost destitute of culture of any kind, and, having been without social advantages in their own homes, have had scarcely any opportunity of forming their opinions concerning the social life of the world by actual contact with it. They are without any kind of experience in the better and more refined phases of the life of the world around them, and are themselves so entirely without the refinements and graces of ordinary existence, that it is hardly a matter of surprise that they should denounce them. With all their boasted liberality, they are persons of narrow ideas, fanatics in most of their

opinions, and the most intensely egotistical mortals that tread the earth.

The head of the Community, as I have so often said, is John Humphrey Noyes, a man of a little over the medium size, and of compact frame. He has an intellectual face, and one which bears traces of much physical suffering. He is the victim of a chronic bronchial affection. His hair is sandy, and he wears a full but closely-cut beard. The expression of the face is thoughtful, but wild and restless. It has less of the sensual in it than that of any other man in the Community—Hamilton alone excepted; but it is not a pleasant countenance. His followers think him like Carlyle in appearance—a resemblance of which he is very proud. Mr. Noyes is a man of prodigious energy. He is the real brains of the whole establishment. When in health, I am told, he is never idle. He is quiet in his ways, and affects a simplicity behind which he hides his real power. He governs every thing, from the most important business transaction down to the minutest detail of domestic life. His will is the controlling power in every department, and nothing is carried out in opposition to it. In matters of faith he is regarded as infallible. Yet he rules without appearing to do so, and is such a master of this art, that his followers, while blindly carrying out his wishes, think they are performing their own will. He is a born ruler of men with all his faults, and it is sad indeed to think that his talents are exerted only for the ruin of his followers. He loves power dearly, and, as long as he lives, will never relinquish it.

He is the editor of *The Circular*, and has written several books. His most elaborate production—"The Berean"—is the most complete exposition of their religious theory the Saints possess. He has also written a work on the social theory of the Community, called "Bible Communism," which is said to verge upon the indecent in its method of treating the subject. His other works have already been noticed in the chapter devoted to the publications of the Society. He has several children in the Community, who resemble him very closely in feature, and all of whom are firm believers in and constant practisers of his doctrines.

Next to him in authority and influence is Mr. George Cragin, Sr., whose history will be related further on.

The immediate head of the Oneida establishment is Mr. James Hamilton, the architect of the buildings. He is of large frame, with a dark, heavy face. He has, perhaps, the best face to be seen in the Community.

Dr. Theodore R. Noyes, the chemist and physician of the establishment, is a son of John H. Noyes, and is one of the most intelligent and accomplished men to be found here. He is a short, stout man, with a face indicating more matter than mind, and a grossly sensual mouth. He is a graduate of Yale College, and one of the best-educated of all the Saints. Besides being thoroughly at home in his profession, he is one of the most agreeable men in the Community, and is very popular with the opposite sex. He is an experimenter in scientific breeding, and has a son

about seven years old, who may be considered the model child of the establishment. I did not see this little fellow, but a visitor to the place says of him: "A handsomer child it would be hard to find anywhere, though we have seen children as handsome, as finely developed, and as full of promise, as this one, where no extraordinary scientific propagative experiments were resorted to for the bettering of our race. The mother of this child and the father were brought together in accordance with the suggestions of the Society. They were, if we may so speak, set apart, ordained, and selected to experiment in this somewhat delicate undertaking, and the results are in every way satisfactory to the Society. We did not have the pleasure of seeing the mother of the infant, but enjoyed an hour or two's very pleasant conversation with the father, whom we found, as before stated, a man of great intelligence; and the idea that a child of his should be other than first-class in all respects, is simply preposterous, because Nature very seldom works backwards."

Dr. George E. Cragin, a graduate of the medical school of Yale College, is also an experimenter in this art. Concerning this person I find the following in Hepworth Dixon's "New America": "George E. Cragin, one of Mary Cragin's sons, a young man of parts and culture, above all, of erect moral feeling, fresh from college, where he has taken his medical degree, told me, in one of our morning rambles, as he might have told a brother whom he loved, the whole history of his heart—the first budding of his affec-

tions—the way in which his love was treated—his sense of shame—his passionate desires—his training in the arts of self-restraint and self-control (which is the discipline of his life as a religious man)—from the moment of adolescence down to the very hour in which we talked together at Oneida Creek. That little history of one human soul, in its secret strivings, is the strangest story I have ever either heard or read. I wrote it down from the young man's lips, as we sat under the apple-trees—that tale of all he had ever felt, and learned, and suffered in the school of love; told, as he told it, with a grave face, a modest manner, and in a scientific spirit; but I have no right to print one line of the confession which lies before me now. I saw at Oneida Creek a hundred records of a similar kind, though most of them were less complete in detail and in plan."

Mr. Sewell Newhouse is the inventor of the Oneida trap. He is a heavy, raw-boned man, with a backwoods face—a face which, while full of shrewdness, gives no evidence of intellect. He has been the good genius of the Community, his trap being the main source of the wealth of the establishment. He has recently invented a patent cartridge for breach-loading arms, which he is endeavoring to sell to the arms companies of Connecticut. It seems rather singular that the skill of this Saint has been directed principally to furnishing means for the more certain taking of life. Traps and patent cartridges are hardly compatible with that peacefulness and perfect love which a state of holiness ought to produce.

The other leading members of the Community are Mr. H. G. Allen, and Mr. Jocelyn, already referred to; Mr. Burt, an old gentleman who was the former owner of a large portion of the present domain of the Community; John H. Cragin, a son of Mr. George Cragin, Sr.; C. Cragin, another son of that gentleman, and the superintendent of the silk-works; Frank W. Smith, a performer upon the violin, and the principal musician of the establishment; J. W. Norton, the foreman of the trap-works, who might readily pass for a "Bowery b'hoy;" George W. Noyes, a son of the apostle of Free Love, remarkable for nothing but his extraordinary devotion to the teachings of his father; Joseph J. Steiner, a graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School; Brother Pitt, the librarian; and Brother Bolls, formerly a Baptist preacher, now a Saint.

Chief among the women is Mrs. Noyes, the lawful wife of John H. Noyes, now well advanced in years, and full of faith in her husband's teachings. She is a venerable-looking old lady, but even she bears upon her the marks of the taint which must come upon every woman who makes her home in the midst of courtesans and libertines.

Mrs. H. K. Skinner, Noyes' sister, is the assistant editress of *The Circular*, and a person of great influence.

Sister Jocelyn, the poetess, is another of the bright and shining lights. She is getting on in life now, and is looked up to with great reverence by the members of the Community. The Saints boast several poets besides sister Jocelyn. The following lines, signed

"H. J. S.," appeared in a recent number of *The Circular*, and are the best specimens of Oneida poetry the writer has seen:

"SONG OF THE SOUTHERN BREEZE.

"When northward from Capricorn wheels the bright sun,
On his mission of love to a winter-bound land,
His servant, before him I joyfully run,
To proclaim the glad news that my lord is at hand.
I rustle the orange trees' glossy green leaves,
And I bear the sweet scent from their blossoms and fruit.
Like billows beneath me the slender cane heaves,
And the cocoanut bowing returns my salute.
Over the mountain-tops straying,
With the blue ocean-waves playing,
Singing through piney-boughs, saying,
Freedom forever for me.

"The landscape lies sleeping in garment of white,
And I, whispering gently, arouse her once more,
Proclaiming that past is the long winter night,
That I came her green flower-flecked robe to restore.
To streams in their icy thrall grumbling, I tell
The glad news that the days of their bondage are o'er,
And, bursting their prison-walls, upwards they swell,
And their gratitude speaks in the torrent's wild roar.
Melting the snow with my showers,
Filling the forest with flowers,
Bursting its buds into bowers,
I'm useful and loyal and free.

"The blue-birds and robins with music attend,
And the farmer rejoicing comes forth with his plow;
The pulse-quickened invalid greets me his friend,
And new life in all nature is frolicking now.
The lambs on the green hills are skipping with joy,
The herds yield the dairyman's rich golden store.
Mid flower-beds maidens their moments employ,
And the lilacs with purple are laden once more.

Bees with their blossoms are blending,
Humming-bird gems are attending,
Gratefully praise is ascending
Heavenward, God, unto Thee."

The following are not so perfect as the above, but are a better specimen of the popular melodies of the Saints:

"HOW I FOUND HER.

"'Gray-beard Parting, go away!
You're ugly, old, and dreary.
Merry Meeting is my love;
I clasp her as my dearie.'

"Gray-beard met me on a day;
I tried to scuttle round him.
'No, no,' said he; 'you go with me;'
A dry old hunks I found him.

"We passed a wood, we crossed a stream,
The vale seemed rather dreary,
When Gray-beard vanished like a dream,
And there stood she, my dearie!

"Since then I've met old Parting oft,
And given him cheerful greeting,
For straight, I find, he leads me where
I clasp my love, fair Meeting."

The other prominent female Saints are Miss C. A. Macknet, a plump-looking girl, who acts as book-keeper and cashier, generally at Wallingford; Charlotte M. Leonard, whose face is a little more intellectual than the most of the female countenances to be seen here; Harriet M. Worden, very good-looking, who prides herself on her likeness to Edwin Booth;

Augusta E. Hamilton, employed on *The Circular*, a daughter of the architect of the mansion; and a fresh-looking, pretty girl named Mary Jones.

If one should search the continent through, it would be hard to find a plainer, less intellectual, and more ordinary-looking collection of human beings than the male and female members of the Oneida Community. The men are mere animals in appearance, and the women are, to my eyes, far below the average of healthfulness and female comeliness. There are one or two intellectual faces in the whole number, and these show well by contrast with the rest. All bear marks of the frightfully licentious life they lead. Nature has branded them as habitual violators of her laws, and they cannot remove the mark. The men are utterly shameless, and the women are bold and brazen. You see in them every outward indication by which men of the world recognize women of the town. Blindfold such a man and put him in a crowd, and he will distinguish with unerring sagacity between the pure and infamous women about him. He would have no difficulty at Oneida and Wallingford.

CHAPTER XX.

THE STORY OF TWO LIVES.

Early History of George and Mary Cragin.—A Susceptible Youth and a Prudish Maiden.—The Descendant of the Puritans.—The Pretty Missionary.—First Meeting of George and Mary.—A Pious Courtship.—Marriage of the Lovers.—Wedded Life.—Mary becomes Perfect.—Trouble Ensues.—In the World.—George Adopts his Wife's Faith.—A Lovely Saint.—Persecution.—Abram C. Smith.—The Sheep in Wolf's Clothing.—Mary takes a New Step in Perfectionism.—The Removal to Rondout Creek.—Life at Rondout.—The Tempter at Work.—George Cragin is Content with his Lot.—He Learns the Doctrine of Renunciation.—Mary takes Several Lessons in Perfectionism.—The Rev. Abram C. Smith puts a Hook in George Cragin's Nose.—The Tempter at Work.—Smith Wishes to Exchange Wives with Cragin.—The Selfish Spirit.—Mr. Smith Turns his Wife Out of Doors, and Teaches Mary Cragin the Doctrine of Spiritual Love.—Indignation of the Villagers.—Plot to Tar and Feather Smith and Cragin.—Arrival of John H. Noyes.—He Restores Peace.—Heavenly Bridals.—Mrs. Cragin Accompanies Smith to New York.—A Complaisant Husband.—George Visits New York, and Learns from the Saints that his Wife has been Seduced by Smith.—A Model for Husbands.—Result of Mary Cragin's Perfectionism.—She and her Husband become Brother and Sister.—Conflict.—How George treated the Destroyer of his Peace.—George "Argues the Point" with Smith, and gives him the Kiss of Peace.—Parting of Mary from her Spiritual Husband.—George and Mary find Peace.—They Take the Final Step in Perfectionism, become Free Lovers, and Enter the Oneida Community.—Death of Mary Cragin.

THE strangest story ever told by mortal man is that of George and Mary Cragin. The former is now, next to Noyes, the most influential member of the Oneida Community. The latter was even superior to

her husband, until her death, which occurred some years ago. I give their story, as related by Wm. Hepworth Dixon, in his work called "Spiritual Wives," preferring to place it before the reader in this form to attempting a version of my own. I have sought to deal with this question in a spirit of entire fairness, and I give this strange narrative as it comes from a pen which has dealt with the Saints far more leniently than they deserve. It is as follows:

Mary Cragin was one of the chief of many female brands who had been plucked from the burning fires during the Great Revival. The story of her life is here told mainly in the words of her husband George.

In its broad features, this story of two lives is that of an idolater and his idol; of a singularly warm and steadfast human passion, in conflict with an equally warm and steadfast spiritual passion. The idolater was George Cragin; the idol was his wife Mary.

From every one who knew her, I hear that, in her younger days, Mary was extremely beautiful; but her rare beauty of face and figure seems to have been counted as the least among her many attractions. She had the soft eye which seeks and the ready smile which wins, the beholder's heart. She was a good musician, a ready talker, a delightful nurse. Every man who came near her fell beneath her sway. Without seeming effort on her side, she became the soul of every society into which she entered; and from her native force of brain and will she could not help becoming a leader of men and women in both the fam-

ily and the church. Her story is worth telling at some length.

George Cragin, her husband by the law, was born in 1808, at Douglas, a village some fifty miles from Boston. He was of Scottish descent; but his foregoers had been settled in Massachusetts since the days of the Mayflower. His father and mother, Puritans of the hardest type, had brought up their son in the belief that to drink wine, to smoke pipes, to dance, to drive a sleigh, to read novels, to see plays, to miss Divine service, and go to a revival church, were each and all deadly sins. Cragin the elder was a dark, stern, silent man; staid in manner, prompt in counsel, active in business; who, as he seemed to be doing well in the world, was allowed to take a high part in the local politics, and to represent the city of Douglas in the Legislature of his State. He was poor in health; his business adventures failed, and his family was beggared at one blow. Father and son left Douglas; and, at nineteen years of age, George Cragin found himself thrown upon the world for bread.

At this age George was hardly more than a child. Twice he had made himself tipsy with tobacco, and once with lemon-punch. Twice he had fallen in love: once when he was ten years old, with a lady of the same age, but of unknown name; once again when he was fifteen, with a poor Methodist girl named Rebecca, whom his father would not suffer him to court. This second love-affair had brought much trouble on his parents; who, being members of the Congregational church, held Methodist girls, especially Metho-

dist girls who were poor, in high contempt. This love, though hot in the lad of fifteen, could hardly live in a parent's ire. George gave way, and Rebecca went to the wall.

George was now sent to school, where a female pupil is said to have died for love of him. Then he was placed behind a counter in Boston, from which point of disadvantage he first saw something of fallen women; afterwards, in the way of business, he got to New York, where he was converted by a revival preacher, the Rev. Charles G. Finney, a great light among the Free-Church and New-Measure people. In New York he fell into mild flirtations with Sarah Steele, a co-disciple in the Lord. But this New York Sarah, though she took his arm on her way to meeting, and seemed in her quiet mood to enjoy his talk, would not suffer the young man from Massachusetts to kiss her lips. Once, when he threw his arm about her neck and tried it on, she flashed out upon him with a "Why, George!" that went into his flesh like a knife. Sarah was proud to have the young Puritan for an escort when she went to hear the Rev. Charles G. Finney denounce the world and the devil; but her heart was dead to such warm love as glowed in George's heart, and, on his offer of a soft salute, her quick reproof of his folly sent him whirling off into infinite space; from which, let the lady do what she liked, he could never find his way back.

After this rebuff from Sarah, he fell more eagerly than ever into a course of stern, unabating exercise of the spirit. With a clerk of like mind in the same

trading-house, he agreed upon a plan for prayer. These lads met in the office, of which they kept the keys, at five o'clock every morning; they prayed together until six, when they walked out to their chapel; there they prayed until seven; after which they went back to the counting-house and began the business of the world. In their long walks they repeated snatches of psalms and hymns. In their moments of leisure they lisped a form of prayer. After work was done in the store, they returned to chapel for service, and after service in the chapel they retired to their room for private devotion. Every hour of Sunday was absorbed by church and school. On that day they held Bible-classes for young men and young women; most of all for young women, many of whom they wrought upon, by word or tone, to confess their sins.

It was in this strict school of duty and observance that George Cragin encountered the young lady who was to become his wife.

High among the old families of Puritan descent who had found a home in Maine, were the Johnsons and Gorhams of Portland. Like all the best families in New England, these Johnsons and Gorhams were engaged in farming and trading; but they ranked with the gentry; they put their girls into good schools; they sent their boys to college; and they held their heads rather high among the intellectual classes. Daniel, one of the Johnson young men, had proposed to Mary, one of the Gorham ladies; he had been accepted as a suitor; and, after his equal and

happy marriage, he had become the father of two children, a boy and a girl. This pair of Puritans, Daniel and Mary Johnson, of Portland, were Presbyterians of the strictest rite; members of the Rev. Edward Payson's church; and their infant children, called by their parents' names, Daniel and Mary, were baptized into the new life by that eminent divine. In due time, Daniel E. Johnson, the boy, went to Yale College, where he took high honors, studied theology, and became an ornament of the Presbyterian Church. Mary, the girl, was born in 1810; and her course of life was to run on a wholly different line.

From an early age she showed unusual signs of quickness and sympathy. Very pretty, very bright, very amiable, every body liked her and every body petted her. To her father and her brother she was a sort of idol; so that, even when she was yet a little child, they never tired of reading with her and working for her. Placed in a good school when she was five years old; kept at close drill until she was fifteen; helped at home by a clever father; spurred along by the correspondence of an advancing brother; where is the marvel that Mary's teachers should have at last declared that they could teach her no more, and that the time had come when she might be intrusted to teach in turn?

Johnson, her father, who was engaged in business as a bookseller and publisher, removed his house from Portland to New York, in the hope of doing better in the Empire State than he had done in Maine. Shortly after his arrival with his wife and daughter in the

great city, a movement, which had been commenced by Mrs. Bethune and other ladies, for establishing infant-schools for the benefit of the poor, took active form in New York. A committee was formed, on which were Dr. Hawks, Dr. Bethune, and many other men of name and note. They wanted female teachers. One school was to be opened by them near St. Thomas' Church, to be placed under the care of its pastor, the famous orator and writer, Francis Lister Hawks, Doctor of Divinity; and Mary Johnson, whose grace and tact were known to many ladies and clergymen on the new committee, was asked to undertake the charge, which she did at once from a high sense of duty; though this charge of a hundred and fifty children was sure to be a heavy burden to a girl not yet beyond her teens.

Rooms were now hired on the ground-floor of Union Church, in Prince street; notices were sent into the houses and cabins all about; and when the doors of her school were thrown open, Mary found her benches flooded with refuse from the quays and lanes. The little things who came to her were dirty and in rags; they hardly knew their own names; many of them had no homes, and could not tell where their mothers lived. All the small miseries of a great city seemed to be poured into the school-room under Union Church through these open doors. But Mary had her heart in the toil. She put these tiny wretches into rows and classes—the younger chits together, the older girls by themselves—and taught them to march in step and to sing in time. She induced them to

wash their faces and mend their clothes. She read prayers for them, and explained the Bible to them. In a few months these imps and elfs of the river-side were changed into the likeness of human beings. Some fell back, no doubt, the tides of the world being far too strong for an infant-school to stem; but the work of cleansing, shaping, and restoring still went forward under Mary's care; the little ones coming to her when they could, and staying as long as the housekeeper would let them stay. Many a poor mother, as she tramped through the streets, was only too glad to find a place in which for six or seven hours she could leave her homeless child. The Rev. Francis Hawks and the committee were coming to feel very happy in their success, when a simple incident occurred, which was to carry away their teacher into another sphere.

"Church services are over," says George Cragin, narrating the events which brought him into his first companionship with Mary Johnson, "the congregation slowly disperse, some going one way and some another. All, save a few young men, have left the sanctuary for their homes. The latter hold a prayer-meeting for a short time, and then they, too, separate and go here and there. It was one of Nature's heavenly days, that Sunday in June; the sky clear as crystal, and the air sweet and balmy as the breath of infancy, when I stood in front of the church, saying to myself, 'Shall I return to my home down town?' I did not always return to my boarding-house till after the evening meeting. My usual route was down Broadway, but something put the

suggestion into my mind to return home through the Bowery. And why that way? It is a good half-mile farther. Never mind that; obey orders, and march. So down the Bowery I started. I was by no means partial to that great thoroughfare of butchers' and Bowery boys; too many roughs and rowdies promenaded its sidewalks on Sundays to suit my taste. Inwardly, however, I felt at peace with all mankind just then, and was humming to myself as I walked straight ahead, passing the gay and the thoughtless—

'Jesus, I Thy cross have taken,
All to leave and follow Thee,'

when, having nearly reached the Bowery Theatre, I was suddenly surprised and brought to a stand-still, by being confronted, not by rowdies walking three abreast, with pants turned up at the bottom, showing the white lining, and each with a cigar in the cavity of his figure-head, but by a beautiful, smiling face (who ever saw a smiling face that was not beautiful?), the owner of which was a Miss Mary E. Johnson, the infant-school teacher of our church. We had never spoken to each other before, to my recollection, although members of the same religious body. Perhaps there had never been a necessity for it; but there was one now. Miss Johnson was not alone; had she been alone, we should have simply nodded recognition, and passed on. She held by the hand a little girl not more than four years of age, who had been brought by some one into her infant Sunday-school class, at the close of which the little innocent

remained uncalled-for. How many children are left, in one way or another, and remain uncalled-for? So, Miss Johnson, whose interest in and care for children under her charge was already proverbial in that section of the city, undertook the task of finding the little one's home, or (since many of the very poor do not have homes, but only stopping-places) her owners, with no other guide than the child herself, who had taken her teacher down to the Bowery Theatre, intimating that she lived in that direction. But, after fruitless wandering for nearly an hour, Miss Johnson, becoming a little alarmed, and not knowing what to do with the 'uncalled-for' upon her hands, was returning up the Bowery when we met. Her anxiety about the child was so great that, conquering her bashfulness and sense of female propriety, that would have deterred her from speaking to a young man in the streets, she followed the stronger instinct of her heart, by stopping and stating to me the facts of the case. My benevolence, acting in concert with my admiration for female loveliness, needed no spur to make me a volunteer at once for the service required, being glad enough of the privilege of joining so attractive an expedition in search of the whereabouts of the child's parents. After a brief consultation, we decided to return to the vicinity of the church for the further prosecution of the search, and, if no owners for the lost property appeared, then consult the elders for further advice. So, with the little one between us, we moved forward for our destination.

"It was a pleasant walk, that; I remember it

well. I had heard much about Miss Johnson, as being a young woman of good mind, well educated, and a model of the rules of city politeness, etiquette, &c. I thought myself, therefore, highly favored by Providence in being thus incidentally thrown into her company; for the conviction continued to cling to me that I was still a rustic, and needed much discipline to free me from clownish habits. But little did I imagine, at that time, that I had providentially met the woman with whom in future I was to take many walks and rides, and have many sittings together, both in sorrow and in joy, in adversity and in prosperity.

"On arriving at the door of the school-room in the basement of the church, we found the mother of the little one waiting patiently, and quite unconcernedly, for the child to turn up. 'Were you not alarmed for the safety of your little girl?' said Miss Johnson to the mother.

"'Lord bless ye, ma'am! how could I be troubled, when my young ones be better off with you, Miss Johnson, than they be at home? I wish you had some of them all the time. But I suppose you will have enough of your own, Miss, one of these days.' This last allusion deepened the color, already cherry-red, on the cheeks of the young teacher.

"Being relieved of the little responsibility on her hands, Miss Johnson had a greater one now to dispose of, which she had assumed by inviting an ally to assist in the search. Her parents residing nearly opposite the church, she could do no less than invite me in to tea."

George found that he was now falling into love, in some sort against his will; since he was conscious, to use his own words, that the marriage-spirit was a strong antagonist of the revival-spirit; and also, perhaps, because, in a dim way, he was conscious of the existence of another young girl called Sarah Steele. Sarah was still a very dear friend; now and then he went to see her; but as he told himself that he had never opened with her a matrimonial account (a baffled attempt at kissing, I suppose, may count for nothing), he owed her no apologies.

With Mary he was soon at fever-heat. "When I bid our fair friend good evening, on the second time of speaking with her," he says, "a queer sensation passed over me, quite different from any former experience. It seemed as though I had parted with a large share of myself or life. Not that it was lost in any unpleasant sense, for I felt very happy after saying that 'good evening.'"

Mary was kind to him, though, in all her talk with him, her chief concern appeared to be for the salvation of his soul. Her own affairs were not going on well. Cholera had compelled her to close the school; things had gone wrong with her father, who had lost his business, and taken to cock-tails and rum-punch; a fierce revival had sprung up, and her lover had quitted the old connection in which she lived, to assist in building up a Free Church. Heavy clouds, therefore, lay upon her life. Not that she was hopeless; her beauty and her gracious talent brought to her side a host of friends. One young man of high

family and promising fortunes offered her his hand; but thinking him, with all his bravery and distinction, to be a man of worldly spirit, she put the temptation of raising herself and all her family from her heart. Perhaps she was in love with George. Perhaps she had scant belief in the power of wealth to make women happy. Anyhow, she had a fine sense of duty, which absolutely forbade her to accept advantages offered to her under the stress of what might prove to be, on the part of this wealthy lover, a passing whim.

When George, in turn, proposed to her, she refused his love under a solemn weight of care. Was she fit for the married life? Was not her father a man who drank? Was not she in some sort a child of shame? Could she consent to involve a man whom she loved in her own disgrace? In these words she put the case before her lover:

"You may remember that, some time ago, you drew me out in a conversation about marriage, in which I remarked that I had made up my mind not to marry, even if an unexceptional life-partnership were proffered to me. You probably regarded it at the time as a girlish expression that meant exactly the opposite, if any meaning whatever was attached to it. But you will think differently now, when you understand the ground upon which I ventured that declaration. It may not have escaped your notice altogether, when you have been at our house, that my father's conversation at times has been quite ambiguous and disconnected, not to say meaningless and silly—mak-

ing it manifest that he was under the influence of intoxicating drinks. The confession, therefore, that I have long desired to make to you is, that my father is an intemperate man, and has been so for a number of years. The grief that this habit of his has caused my dear mother, brother, and myself, is known only to Him who 'was a Man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.' It was through this habit, and the associations to which it leads, that he lost a lucrative business. For some good and wise purpose this trial has been put upon me in my youth, and I am learning to submit to it without murmuring, believing that all things work together for good to 'them who love God.' If it were poverty alone against which we are called upon to struggle, I should by no means regard it as a disgrace, but only an inconvenience to be avoided. But intemperance is a vice, if not a crime, because it implies a lack of self-control and manly courage in resisting temptation to idleness and slavish appetites.

"Now, will you believe me when I say to you, that I have too much regard for you to consent to disgrace your father's family by accepting your offer of marriage? I hardly need say that it has cost me many mental struggles to take this step. But I could not satisfy my sense of right without making the sacrifice."

That note from Mary Johnson fixed her fate for life. Up to this point George had thought of her only as a pretty girl, soft of voice, who made every body love her. Now, she was a heroine—a young

woman capable of the highest form of sacrifice. Give her up! What had he to do with pride? His family, though of the same class, was not so good as hers; for, on her mother's side at least, she had come from the very best blood in Maine. The Cragins could not pretend to rank with the Gorhams. He therefore pressed his suit upon her. Mary paused; but her brother, the Rev. Daniel E. Johnson, joined in supporting George's prayer, and during a summer holiday, the wedding of these young hearts took place; the Rev. Daniel Johnson, now acting as the true head of his family, giving away the bride.

The tricks which Cragin found in vogue among the men of Wall street sickened him with trade; his Puritan blood, his natural taste, and his religious zeal, conspiring to make him loathe the ways which led to success either on the quay or in the bank. Other work appeared to call him. The vice on the river-side, the misery at Five Points—the thieves' slums near the Battery, the harlots' dens in Greene street—spoke to his heart. Thanks to the Rev. Charles G. Finney, and some other revival preachers, efforts were then being made to deal, on a new plan, and in a religious spirit, with the dangerous classes of New York; and this strife with ignorance and misery was the kind of work for which Nature and education had prepared both Cragin and his wife. They joined in it heart and soul; becoming teachers among the poor, visitors among the cast-away, distributors of tracts, of clothes, of alms, to the lowest classes in one of the most abandoned cities of this earth. Five or six

years were spent by Cragin as the agent, lecturer, and publisher, first of the Maternal Association, then of the Female Benevolent Society, and next of the Female Moral Reform Society. To the last of these societies George was the male agent, working, however, under a committee of ladies.

Pass we lightly over the early years of their married and religious life; since those years, though full of matter to the man and woman, were but the stages through which Mary was to travel on her way from legal bondage, as they called it, to a state of freedom from sin, and spiritual marriage to another man. During these years they lived in the revival-world, among men and women who had embraced the wildest doctrines of the New Measure and the Free Church. They were always on the watch for new lights, for personal intimations, for the coming of, they knew not what. They loved each other very much; and on George's side the passion had passed, at a very early stage of wedlock, into idolatry. Now and then a fear came on them that this isolating and exclusive love was wrong, since they could not help feeling that it took them from the church; and they began to fear lest it should end in withdrawing their hearts from God. On both sides there was an earnest striving after a nobler life. Every storm of revival energy which passed through the land in which they dwelt caught them up in its whirl, tossed them to and fro on its angry waves, and left them stranded among a thousand broken hulls and spars.

George Cragin says:

"The Spring of 1839 found us occupying the half of a dwelling in Jane street, New York, a tenement amply sufficient for our small family. Mrs. Cragin's mind was still much exercised on the subject of perfect holiness, or salvation from sin. Being relieved from the cares and perplexities of a large family, she had leisure for reflection and self-examination. Through the agency of Mrs. Black, Mrs. Cragin formed the acquaintance of several persons called 'Perfectionists,' who claimed to have come into possession of the priceless boon of freedom from sin and condemnation. These individuals received what knowledge they possessed on the subject from Abram C. Smith and John B. Lyvere, persons with whom John H. Noyes was associated for a short time in the year 1837. My own mind was ill at ease during this period. I can hardly describe the soul-tidal fluctuations to which I was subject. Although a nominal member of the Tabernacle Church, I seldom attended the meeting, excusing myself from duty-doing on account of the distance from my residence. I was neither in the church nor out of it—still clinging to the shadow, vainly wishing it might turn into a substance. At this juncture in my experience, attempts were made to get me back to the Third Free Church, where I expended so much of my early zeal during the revival period. The pastor, with whom I was well acquainted, employed a little flattery upon my egotism to gain my consent, saying that they wanted me to fill the vacancy of an eldership, &c. I was sore tempted to yield to their entreaties, but some unseen power

kept me from the snare of official position. And, moreover, what was I to gain by turning again to the beggarly elements of dead works? Orders had been given me to *advance;* but I was slow in comprehending them. Formerly, I had looked up to ministers for guidance and instruction; I could look in that direction no longer. My intimacy with some of them disclosed the fact that they were, as a body, powerless and penniless in the riches of the wisdom and grace of God. The blind could not lead the blind. Sinners preaching to sinners was a mockery that my whole nature loathed. At times, I was greatly dissatisfied with myself; in a word, was sick—soul-sick. But the disease that was upon me—a criminal unbelief—was an unknown one to myself and to the churches. Equally ignorant were we of the remedy —faith."

Mary was the first to feel her way out of these troubles. The more immediate agency of her new conversion was a paper written by Father Noyes on the Power of Faith—a paper which she read and pondered until light flowed in upon her soul.

"It came," she said, "with the authority of the word of God to her inner life. Step by step it led her on, with that clear logical conviction that characterizes mathematical demonstration, forever settling points beyond all doubtful disputation and discussion. The spirit of that paper brought her face to face with the practical questions of believing, submission, and confession, not at some future time, at a more convenient season, but now—present tense, imperative

mood,." Her husband then proceeds with the story of her inner life:

"For several weeks she spent much time in prayer, saying but little to myself or any one, for her feelings were too deep and intense for expression, except to Him who hears the earnest, secret prayer of the honest-hearted seeker after truth. Mrs. Cragin had one weakness of character that greatly distressed her—a quick temper. At times, when the tempter would suddenly spring that snare upon her, she would be overwhelmed with condemnation, which for the time being would cause her to despair of salvation. So the question would be thrust at her again and again, when she was on the point of confessing Christ in her a Saviour from all sin, 'You may be saved from other faults, but not from your passionate anger when suddenly provoked." And again that unbelieving demon would insinuate to her, that if, after making the confession that Christ had saved her from all sin, she should be overcome by her old enemy, all would be lost, and that Christ's power was insufficient to cast out a devil so subtle as the one with which she had in vain contended for so many years. Finally, the controversy that had been going on within was narrowed down to this single point, 'Is Christ within me?' I will quote a paragraph from the article so instinct with life to her soul:

"'If the inquirer declares himself willing to part with his idols, and yet cannot believe, we must search through his spirit again for the reason of his unbelief. Perhaps he is saying in his heart, "I would believe,

if I could *feel* that Christ is in me, and I am saved;" in other words, "I will believe the testimony of my own feelings, but not the word of God." This is wrong. A right spirit says, "Let God be true, and every man a liar. God says He has given me His Son and eternal life; my feelings contradict His record; my feelings are the liars—God is true; I know and will testify that Christ is in me a whole Saviour, because God declares it, whether my feelings accord with the testimony or not." If you wish for peace and salvation by the witness of the Spirit, *before* you believe, you wish for the fruit before there is any root. Righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, are the *consequences* of faith; the word of God, and that only, is its foundation."

"Mrs. Cragin," says her husband, "had gone through the conflict. . . ."

The doctrine of a life without sin was made to rest on a belief that, through the power of faith, a man may be able to cast out from his nature the spirit of self. The selfish spirit was one with the evil spirit. All true virtue began with renunciation. To give up self was to give up sin, and to live for God alone was the highest act of grace. "Follow me," had been a call to the elect forever. Leave all—leave every one, be it house and land, be it flocks and herds, be it even wife and child; cast all these things behind thee, if thou wouldst save thy soul alive! Such were the words addressed to a believer's heart. All things near and dear must be laid on the altar of sacrifice—rank, riches, pride, ambition, peace, and love. If a

man would be freed from sin, his faith in God must be perfect, his abandonment of self complete. God must become to him all in all.

This act of renouncing self in the heart is the conflict to which George refers. Mary had always been less worldly in her ways than her husband was—more trustful and confiding, more like a saint and a child, as good women are apt to be, especially when their thoughts have taken a religious turn. She was now ready for the sacrifice, eager to spend and be spent.

"Mrs. Cragin had gone through the conflict," says the idol-worshipper, "and a severe one it was, of giving up husband, child, mother, and brother, the most cherished of her household gods. She had counted the cost, moreover, of being cast out of society, if not rejected and disowned by relatives, and turned into the street by her husband; so great was the odium cast upon the so-called heresy of Perfectionism. With the resolution and heroic purpose of the noble Esther of Bible history, to take the step before her, saying, 'If I perish, I perish,' she dared all consequences, and made the confession that Christ was in her a present and everlasting Saviour from sin.

"I well remember the day, the hour, and the place, in which she tremblingly obeyed the inspiration of her heart in confessing an indwelling Christ. I had returned home from my place of business at the usual hour—five o'clock in the afternoon. We were in our basement dining-room alone. After a pause of silence, she said, 'I confess Christ in me a Saviour from all sin: I shall never sin again.' I believe that

confession was heard and recorded in heaven, causing angels to rejoice over the victory thus gained—for they know the value of souls."

George followed his wife into this non-selfish church, as he would have followed her into any other; for his soul was her soul, his mind her mind; and he seems to have had, at that date, no wish, no hope, beyond doing her will and living in her love. From the day of their wedding, his passion for his lovely wife had been burning into whiter heat. About this time his love for her had increased to the point of fanaticism—to that of idolatry, when she bore him his first-born child. What she did, he must do; whither she went, he must go; her country must be his country, and her God his God. Mary was his law; he had not yet come to see—only to fear—that this superstition of the heart was an evil spirit, to be driven out of his soul at any and every cost, before he could be reconciled in soul to heaven.

He was to learn it all in time; but the outward trouble came upon him sooner than the inward. Scouts and spies, who seem to abound in churches however holy, carried the news of George's conversion to the doctrine of a life on earth untouched by selfishness, unstained by sin, to several of the reforming ladies of his committee—members of the Female Reform Society—who forthwith called a meeting of the Board to condemn him. Mary wept for joy at this sound of a coming storm. She had prepared her soul for persecution. She wished to make some visible sacrifice for the truth. All that she had yet yielded

up to God was a form—a dream—an allegory—a phrase. It was only in terms that she could be said to have given up father and mother, husband and child. But the angry matrons of the Reform Society were about to bring her sacrifices home. Their questions were rough, and to the point. What right had a man in a free country to change his mind? What could induce a moral reformer to begin meddling with religious truth? Where was the need for one, whose duty lay among thieves and fallen women, to trouble himself about salvation from sin? In an angry mood these ladies came into the Board-room. George was told to stand up before them, while thirty pair of bright eyes scanned his figure from head to foot, as though they had expected to see hoofs, and horns, and tails to match. What had he to say in explanation and defence?

Not much. He was a free man. He lived in a free State. He thought he was acting in his right. He knew that he was a better man for the change which had come upon his spirit.

"Hoot!" said the editress of a journal published by the Female Reformers, "here is the Battle-Axe letter—an infamous letter, an infernal letter: this letter is from the pen of Noyes. Could a godly man write such a thing as that?"

George did not know. The Battle-Axe letter, he had heard, referred to what might be done by holy men and women at some future time—perhaps on this planet, perhaps in the higher spheres. He had nothing to say about it, since he did not understand it;

and his case stood solely on the paper called the Power of Faith.

He was dismissed from office, and Mary wept upon his neck for joy.

Turned out into the world, despised, condemned of men, the pair put on, as it were, the raiment of bride and groom. Mary wrote to her new teacher, Father Noyes:

"While I am writing to you I am weeping for joy. My dear husband one week since entered the kingdom. When I tell you that he has been the publishing agent of the *Advocate of Moral Reform*, and had been born but three days when they cast him out, you will rejoice with me. Ah, Brother Noyes, how have the mighty fallen! In him you will find a most rigidly upright character—Grahamism and Oberlin perfection all in ruins. How he clung to Oberlin, as with a death-grasp! How confident was he that none were saved from sin but mere Grahamites! How disgusted with the conduct of Perfectionists! The Lord has pulled down strong towers. Bless the Lord! on the first of December he will be without money and without business. How this rejoices me!"

Such was the spirit in which Mary Cragin took the cross of persecution on herself.

The last words of her letter were hardly true. George had been a prudent saver of his means, and, without telling his wife about his thrift, he had put up more than a hundred dollars in the bank. If they were poor, they were not penniless. "We shall stand

by," said Mary, strong in her faith, "and let the Lord provide."

The two leading men of their new way of thinking in the State of New York were the Rev. Abram C. Smith and the Rev. John B. Lyvere. Smith lived at Rondout Creek, on the North River, about two miles from Kingston, seventy-five miles from New York. Lyvere had a house in the city. With both these Saints the Cragins made acquaintance, and from both they received advice and help. "We looked up to these persons," says George, "as our teachers and guides, regarding ourselves as mere babes in Christ, to be cared for and fed by others with the milk of the word of life." To Abram C. Smith, a bold, strong man, of large experience and resolute will, they became attached by the closest ties of friendship and brotherhood.

Mary was so pretty, so clever, so engaging, that her house in Jane street soon became a gathering-place for the Saints of New York, who dropped in for counsel, for reproof, perhaps also for gossip. But the best of us are hardly better than the angels. George soon found that some of those Saints who had come to pray, remained to flirt. At least, he thought so, and the mere suspicion made him wretched.

"I have to confess," he writes, in his simple story, "that my wife had become a very popular member of our fraternity, receiving rather more attention from some of the brotherhood than suited my taste. One case in particular, with which I was occasionally disturbed, was that of a brother whose social antecedents

presented any thing but a clean record, although he had been a member of the Methodist church for many years. That at which I took offence most frequently was his use of coarse language. Not possessing the faculty of concealing my feelings, I became rather an unpopular member of our circle. Placed thus between two fires, legality on the one hand and licentiousness on the other, my position led me into severe conflicts with the powers of darkness, and was any thing but an enviable one. Many and many a time, as I walked the streets of the city, did I repeat to myself the verse,

> 'The soul that on Jesus hath leaned for repose,
> I will not, I cannot, desert to his foes.'

I gained many a victory in spirit, devoutly hoping that each conflict would be the last encounter with the enemy of my peace."

Of course, in George's state of mind at that time it was impossible for him to obtain, and almost irrational for him to desire, a perfect repose of mind. As he says, in looking back from the heights which he subsequently gained:

"Those desires for peace, before the devil was cast out of my whole nature, were, of course, childish and egotistical. But we had entered a new school, and accepted such teachers as offered themselves to us. I needed help."

That help which he needed for casting out the selfish spirit from his heart, and curing himself of his

old idolatry of his pretty wife, was near at hand, in the person of the Rev. Abram C. Smith.

The man to whom we looked for help, and in whom we had the most confidence," says Cragin, "was Abram C. Smith."

The Rev. Abram C. Smith, the man by whom they were to be purged of the selfish spirit, and made fit for life in a higher sphere—who was to become George's spiritual guide and Mary's spiritual husband —was of a type, a class, an order, not peculiar, perhaps, to the American soil, yet nowhere to be found so strongly and sharply marked as in New England and New York. To begin with his list of merits, he had the true kind of name for a teacher, a name of three parts: the first part, a personal name, Abram; the third part, a family name, Smith; and lying between these parts, an emphatic letter, C., on which the voice was to rest in speaking, and which was never to be written out in full. Nearly all the marked men among the Saints have this sign: as John *B.* Foot, Abram *C.* Smith, John *B.* Lyvere, John *H.* Noyes. But Abram *C.* had something about him far more potent than a name. He prided himself on being a zealot among the zealous, a free man among the free. He had all the virtues, and many of the vices, of the American frontier men. Born with an iron frame and a burning pulse, he was noted, even as a lad, for his hard ways of life and for his earnest speech. Very few youngsters equalled him in the power of getting through hard work on hard fare. In felling timber, in slitting rails, in trenching fields, in digging wells

in raising shanties, very few workmen could compete with Abram *C.* Like nearly all Yankee lads, he was a man while yet a boy; free of the world, the flesh, and the devil in his teens; loud, pinched, eager, resolute, talkative. From his cradle he had been religious after his kind. In youth he had received a peculiar call, when he had joined a church of New York Methodists, in whose body he began his ministerial career. To use Cragin's words, "he possessed some excellent traits of character; he was naturally very affectionate, kind-hearted, and self-sacrificing; he possessed a good intellect; and had he been well educated, and learned the spirit of obedience in his youth, he would have adorned either the pulpit or the bar." But he had scarcely been at school, and he had never learned obedience in his youth. All that a lad can learn in the street, in the field, and in a common school, he knew. He was great in traffic; had a keen eye to business; he knew the Bible by rote; and he seldom failed in getting a slice of every cut loaf for himself.

Among the new friends to whom his conversion made him known, the Rev. Abram C. found many who liked his keen speech, his firm will, his zeal for the salvation of souls. Cold, hard, enduring, sharp of tongue, prompt in wit, hot for the fray, he breathed the very spirit of revival fury. From the moment that his bishop granted him a license to preach, he became a Yankee Saint. "He went great lengths," says Cragin, "in fasting, in praying, in simplicity of dress, in frugality and plainness of food, and he car-

ried his notion of duty-doing to the topmost round of the legal ladder."

Like most of his countrymen, he married young; but his first love died. Some of his leaders thought he should take a second wife; and by their persuasion, even more than from his own inclining, he proposed to a young Methodist woman, who, besides being tall, pretty, and accomplished, had a peculiar and precious religious gift. I suppose the girl had fits. She described herself as receiving a sort of angels' visits, which disturbed her mind, and left her limbs of their natural strength. After one of these visits, her friends would find her on the floor writhing and prostrate. Abram heard of these troubles of the young lady—proofs of her exceeding favor with the higher powers—and, being anxious to stand well with the higher powers himself, he proposed to their favorite, and was happy in his suit. Three children had been born on his hearth, by his first wife; his second wife brought him an infant; but the mother who bore it, in spite of her accomplishments and her beauty, brought her husband no peace. In the meetings of her church she was all smiles and tears, her heart open to all, her voice soft to all; but in the privacy of her own house she showed another and darker side of her nature. One who lived in the same log-house with her some time, described her as a devil's puzzle. She was good and kind, but she had no sense of truth. She could feel for another's pain, but she could see no difference between right and wrong. When Abram C. got vexed with her, as he often did,

he would call her "a solid lie." Then, he would curse in his heart, and even in the hearing of his friends, those busybodies in the Methodist Church who had driven him, by their false praises, into marrying a wretch who had nothing to recommend her but a stately figure and a pair of very bright eyes.

Such were the two Saints at Rondout Creek, who were tempting George and Mary Cragin to share their home.

Mr. Smith's claims to a superior experience, and to a high position in the New Jerusalem Church now being organized on earth, were by no means small. Had he not sounded the depths of Methodism? And Wesleyan Perfectionism, too—had he not freely imbibed, until it had ceased to afford him nourishment of any kind?

The winter of 1840 was passing away, and Spring coming round. The time for which the Cragins had rented the tenement in Jane street would soon expire. The question, therefore, where had the Lord prepared a place for them? came up for decision.

Mary did not seem to care. She wanted to bear her cross, and, if it were heavy enough, her heart would be content. George had nursed from his youth upwards a more worldly spirit, and he preferred to see some way in which he could earn his daily bread. Love made a good deal for him; but, in his view, love itself would be safer for a large supply of hominy and squash. The question, therefore, of what the Lord was going to provide in the way of food and

ADMONITION SOUGHT

lodgings, came before his mind with some peremptory sharpness.

"I had no disposition to live in idleness. I was born a worker, so that little credit was due to me for my industrious proclivities. Thus far in my career I had worked for my body chiefly. In that career I had been arrested by the same authority that arrested Saul of Tarsus, and ordered to expend my powers of industry for the benefit of my soul. But how to set myself to work in the cause of the latter interest I did not understand. I had a strong desire to leave the city—a desire which I now think was an uninspired one. The voice of the Spirit to me doubtless was, if I could have heard it, 'Remain in the city till I deliver you, or send you elsewhere. If you go into the country you will have trouble in the flesh.' But I had not learned to give my attention to the inner voice of God."

In the mean time the Rev. Abram C. Smith continued to press his kindness on them.

"From him," says George, "we had received a standing invitation to remove to his residence at Rondout, and join his family, if we could do no better. Having accepted him as our teacher, this opening of escape from the city seemed auspicious to me."

At this point it may be well to remember that the Rev. Abram C. Smith was a married man. His wife was not a Saint, at least not in her heart of hearts; but she was his wife; and if Mary Cragin was to go on a long visit to Rondout, it was well that her pleasure in the matter should be known. Even Abram C.

felt that he could hardly ask the Cragins to share his home without making his wife a partner in his suit. "Mr. Smith," says George, "for the first time called upon us in company with his wife when the invitation to join their family was renewed. We were unacquainted with the real character of this woman. In his previous interviews with us, Mr. Smith had said so little about his wife that we had almost forgotten that he had one. In person she was prepossessing and dignified. She was introduced to us as a newly made convert to Perfectionism—a recent fruit of Mr. Smith's zealous efforts for the cause. With the Methodists she took rank among the Sanctificationists, having many times lost her strength by a sudden illumination from some invisible sphere. So she said; but she did not say that she had lost her sins by those mysterious trances. She failed to impress me favorably. Her good looks, her winning smiles, and professions of devotion to the cause we loved, were powerless in drawing out my heart or in securing my confidence. But, indorsed as she was by Mr. Smith, I distrusted my own impressions, and gave her the right hand of fellowship."

An invitation which the Cragins expected from an older friend than this reverend gentleman and his smiling partner failed them. The lease in Jane street had expired. They had no house of their own. In a short time their money would be spent. All their old friends had been estranged from them by their change of faith. In a few days they would be wanting bread. What was to be their fate? As George

now saw, Abram's offer of a refuge from the storm could hardly be refused. But, even at the last moment, Mary felt some doubts. She did not like to put herself and her husband into Abram's power. Perhaps she had seen some spirit in the man before which she quailed.

"How much," says George, "we needed wisdom from above to direct our steps just then, those only can judge who have been placed in similar circumstances. Move we must, in some direction, and as the invitation had been repeated by both Mr. and Mrs. Smith with so much apparent sincerity, we could do no less than disregard our own impressions and follow our leader somewhat blindly."

Yes, the leap was made. "On the 7th of March, 1840, therefore, our furniture was placed on board a sloop bound for Rondout; and the same evening my wife, my little ones, and myself, were escorted by Mr. Smith to a steamer destined to the same place. That voyage was not soon forgotten. Mrs. Cragin was so depressed in spirit that it was with much difficulty she could control her feelings from finding vent in a flood of tears. She afterwards said to me, that, the moment we decided to unite ourselves with the family of Mr. Smith, darkness like an impenetrable cloud came over her mind, as though God had withdrawn from her soul the light of his fatherly countenance. Down to this point in our acquaintance with Mr. Smith, Mrs. Cragin had less confidence in and attraction for him than myself. She was now in distress of mind. The benevolence of our guide was appealed

to. He talked to her with all the tenderness and eloquence of a sainted minister in the good old days of revivals. He won her heart. Mr. Noyes, a man whom she had never seen, had, by his inspired writings, completely secured her confidence as one raised up of God to lead us into the highway of holiness. She had been hoping that Mr. Noyes would come to the city and advise us what to do; and, had she been in my place, I think she would have written to him for the counsel we so much needed. But, lacking that advice, she accepted Mr. Smith as his representative; and knowing that I also received him in that character, she very naturally, and unavoidably almost, extended to him the same confidence she would have done to Mr. Noyes."

At length they reached Rondout Creek, landed on the rough bank facing the village of Rondout, in Ulster County, and saw the household in the midst of which they had come to live.

"On arriving at our destination," says George, "we found ourselves in a family much larger than our own. Mr. Smith was living with his second wife, by whom he had one child. By his former companion he had three children—a son and two daughters, two of whom were on the verge of maturity. The dwelling he occupied—an ancient stone edifice, erected before the first war with Great Britain—stood solitary and alone on the south side of the creek or bay directly opposite the village of Rondout, the terminus of the Delaware and Hudson canal, and the shipping depot of the Lackawana Coal Company. As one of

Mr. Smith's cardinal virtues was economy, carried almost to the type of parsimony, we found the interior of the house so plainly furnished, that an anchorite could not have complained of superfluity in furniture, nor of sumptuousness in the bills of fare. Its frugality was a reminder of the experience of the early settlers of the country, often struggling with poverty for the right to subsist on *terra firma*. We had congratulated ourselves that we had come down to the minimum of simple, plain living, before leaving the city, and were entitled to a liberal share of righteousness, if it was to be obtained by a process of economy in food and raiment. But Mr. Smith's system of retrenchment had now thrown ours entirely into the shade."

In this dull house, with this sombre man, with this haughty woman, the Cragins took up their abode. The hard fare, the driving work, were taken as a portion of that cross which they had to bear for their souls' sake. The life was not lovely, but it held out to them a hope of peace, and it seemed to have been the lot appointed to them of God. To Mary this was the first and only thought; but George, more active and athletic than his wife, soon found a rough animal comfort in doing the tasks which his stern employer found for him on the farm.

"Finding myself," he says, "at last in the country, and on a farm upon which I was at liberty to expend my physical energies, I was soon enjoying myself greatly in following the plough, behind a noble old horse whose only defect was that he was as blind as a

bat, with Joshua, a son of Smith, for a rider. The ostensible business which Smith pursued at that time was that of foreman of a gang of hands on the opposite side of the river engaged in manufacturing lime and cement. The farm we lived upon was nominally owned by a brother of Mr. Smith, who allowed him the use of it at a moderate rent. The time of the latter was already much occupied, and, my attraction being for agricultural pursuits, he placed me in charge of the farm department, while he continued in his position as agent and overseer for the lime company.

"Possessing communistic ideas and proclivities, we thus made a slight attempt to carry out the Pentecostal spirit of holding all things in common. For a while, our associative effort bade fair to be a success, so far as our out-door business and self-support were concerned. I very soon became much absorbed in my new avocation. This suited Smith, as he had earned the reputation of being a great worker himself, as well as of possessing a faculty for keeping those under him pretty constantly employed. So, with the blind horse and the lad Joshua, the ex-merchant, publisher, and reformer considered himself in favorable circumstances to secure—what few seemed to prize—the riches of godliness and contentment."

Contentment! Was he content? Were the others content? He was much in love with his wife, and perhaps he was a little jealous of the Rev. Abram C. But he felt sure of Mary; and he was only just beginning to find, through the hints of Abram C., that he had in himself a very bad spirit, which he should

strive to cast out with all his might. His love for Mary was too hot and blind; it was a snare of the devil; it breathed the very soul of self, and was the sign of an unregenerate heart. That love would drive him away from God.

George felt sorry and ashamed. He knew that he loved his wife beyond every earthly good; for was she not his nurse, his guide, his queen, the light of his eye, the joy of his heart, the pride of his intellect? So far he had not been able to see that, in loving her for her worth and beauty, he was doing any harm. The example set by his new teachers at Rondout rather pained than edified him.

"Between Mr. and Mrs. Smith we soon discovered no harmony existed. Indeed, there was manifestly positive alienation. A house divided against itself was not likely to offer a very peaceful retreat in which to pursue our studies as pupils in the school of faith. Mrs. Smith was now Mrs. Smith at *home*, not abroad. When she called upon us in the city, she presented herself in a character not her own—that of a meek and lowly Christian. She had no longer an occasion for such a dress. If it was put on as a bait to attract us to Rondout, it was a success."

It was not long before the bickering between the Rev. Abram C. and his wife came to an open quarrel; and George soon found some reasons for suspecting that another and prettier woman was the active, though she may have been at first the unconscious, cause of this domestic fray.

"My relation to Mr. Smith up to this time was

that of a son to a father. I had from the first felt the need of a teacher. The want was born in me, and I had heartily accepted Mr. Smith to fill that office. For a while things appeared to go on smoothly enough, so far as out-door business was concerned; but interiorly there were indications of stormy weather. In the region of my solar-plexus, counter-currents were flowing, causing perturbations of an unpleasant character. The first change that attracted my attention was something like coolness on the part of Mr. Smith toward myself. It was rarely, now, that he had any communication with me except in planning the out-door business. On the other hand, his communications with Mrs. Cragin were more and more frequent and private. Did I discover a corresponding change or coolness on the part of Mrs. Cragin, or was it a distorted imagination?"

By this time George had made a pretty long step in his religious knowledge. He had been thinking over the doctrine of renunciation; had talked about it to Abram and Mary; and had come to see that the command to give up house and land, wife and child, might be understood in a literal sense, as a duty laid upon all the children of grace.

Thus it happened that, when he began to ask himself, as he trudged after the plough, how things were going on within doors, he could not help feeling that something more was expected from him by his teacher, if not also by his wife, than a mere sacrifice of form. What did they want? Above all, what did his idol wish him to do? As he dwelt upon their

life before they had come to Rondout Creek and after, he could not help seeing that there had been a change with him for the worse. Mary had become silent and judicial—a new and very suspicious state of mind for her.

"She has very little to say to me," he said to himself, "except in the way of criticism of a spirit in me which claims her affections." Why should he not claim them? "That," says George, "was my weak point. I was stricken by the feeling of self-condemnation that came upon me." And then he forced himself into a confession which was obviously foreign to his character. "Freely and sincerely would I admit to myself and others, that, in the sight of God, I could claim in Mrs. Cragin no exclusive private property or privilege; that in forsaking all for Christ, as I claim to have done, my wife was included. So much was logically clear and conclusive to my understanding." All this philosophy, I imagine, was the growth of later years. The true feelings of his heart broke out: "But my feelings, like wilful, disobedient children, would listen to no such reasoning. Being thus in bondage to irrational influences over which I had no power of control, I had all I could do to keep my own head above water, without paying much attention to the conduct of others." But then, he could not leave the thing in-doors alone. The thought of what his teacher might be saying to his wife confused his soul, and made his hand unsteady on the plough. Yet he had no strength to face his master and to protect his wife. Had the reverend gentleman been a

single man, Cragin might have fallen a passive victim to his force of will. But, in the haughty mistress at Rondout Creek, he found an ally on whom he had not counted.

"Mr. Smith proved himself an unwise, unskilful general, in attempting the management of forces over which he had but a limited control. While he had found in Mrs. Cragin an ally, a sweetheart, and a very lovable associate, and apprehended no trouble from me, seeing that I was fast bound in chains of self-condemnation, he had not counted the cost of leaving his wife as an enemy in the rear, with the disposition and the means of causing him serious trouble. It is barely possible, however, that he had counted on an *affaire d'amour* between his wife and myself, which, had it happened, there is no telling what the results would have been, though they would probably have been no better, but much worse. But I was in no state to fall in love with another woman. I had trouble enough on hand already, without contracting a debt for more, to be paid for at some future judgment-day. I had business enough on hand, too, to get out of the idolatrous love for my wife, that I had been falling into for years, until it seemed at times as though I had got into the bottomless pit, where the more I struggled to get out, the deeper I sank into hopeless despair."

At Oneida Creek I was struck by the keen frankness with which my young doctor of medicine told me the story of his passions. That young doctor was George Cragin, son of the George and Mary Cragin

whose story I am now telling from his father's notes. I then felt and said that his little history of one human heart was the strangest thing I had ever either heard or read. The father's tale is certainly not less strange.

"Regardless of consequences," George continues, "Mr. Smith succeeded in compelling his wife to leave his house and take refuge over the Creek among her relatives. A more rash, inconsiderate act could not have been done, except by one wholly divested of reason; and the motive of it soon became apparent.

"During the first week in May, the relation between Mr. Smith and Mrs. Cragin had assumed the character of spiritual love, of the novelest type. It was not so much hatred of his wife which had caused him to turn her out of doors, as a fierce, crazy, amative passion—I cannot call it love—for my wife, whom he had already in spirit appropriated to himself. But he played his cards skilfully, for he so managed his hand as to throw all the responsibility of his intimacy with Mrs. Cragin upon myself. For instance, he told her, one evening, to feign distress of mind, or something to that effect, and to ask permission of me to repair to his room for spiritual advice. My wife was so completely magnetized by him and under his power, that she would do almost any thing he bade her. Accordingly, she obtained my consent; and when she returned to me, no harm was done. Unfortunately, the same sort of reason was pleaded the following night. 'My God!' I said to myself, 'where is this thing to end? Are all these operations

needed to cure me of the marriage-spirit? Must others do evil that I may get good?'

"Well, Mr. Smith said my case was a desperate one, and desperate remedies had to be applied. Yet it did not suit me—even though my consent was given—to take medicine by proxy. Moreover, I did not really believe that Mr. Smith was at all anxious for my recovery, if that event would require a discontinuance of the proxy medicine. But my chief difficulty, and the cause of my greatest distress, was attributable to a distrust of my physician. *Was he duly authorized by the powers above to pursue the course he had adopted?* Serious doubts assailed me, so powerfully that it was in vain to resist them. Inwardly I prayed, and most earnestly, too, for a change of doctors, or at least a council of medical *savans*, to take my case in hand."

His prayer was answered. John H. Noyes, with two other Saints, came down from Vermont to New York to attend the May meetings. It was the second week in May. On their arrival in New York, Noyes felt troubled in his mind about the doings of his disciple, Abram C. Smith, at Rondout Creek, where things were looking rather black. Mrs. Abram C. was not the kind of woman to bear her injuries in peace; in fact, she had made so loud a noise about her wrongs, that the rough woodmen and watermen of Rondout village had been stung into threats of crossing the Creek in boats and making a midnight call on the Saints. Noyes had heard some rumor of these threats. "Anyhow," he said to his two friends

in New York, "I am afraid there is mischief at work in Smith's family," and hinted that they would do well in going up the Hudson River to that place. Noyes arrived at Rondout Creek in time to prevent loss of life; for a warrant had been issued that day in Kingston, the nearest town, against the Rev. Abram C., for a breach of the peace in turning his wife out of doors; and the whole population of Rondout village was arming itself with axe and torch, with tar and feathers, to redress the woman's wrongs. An attack on the stone house was expected every hour. What was to be done? Should they stand their ground and fight it out with the mob? Abram C. was all for war. To barricade the house, to arm his people, and to resist his invaders to the death, would have been his policy. Noyes took the opposite ground. Peace with the outside world, criticism and sincerity among yourselves, was his prompt advice. News flew across the Creek, into the village, that a peacemaker was at work, and no one stirred against the house that night. Noyes recommended Abram to submit—to obey the Judge's warrant—and, in fact, to go across to Kingston and deliver himself up. Smith was rude and stiff; but in the end he saw that, unless he gave way to the police, he would be murdered by the mob. This point being carried, Father Noyes inquired into the state of things in the house, and rebuked Smith sharply for the course he had taken with his wife. The facts were then brought out in regard to the intimacy which had sprung up between Smith and Mary Cragin. The facts were only too clear, in

whatever way they were to be judged. George, I think, came off the worst of the three. To use his own words: "They were admonished faithfully, but in love. A claiming, legal spirit in me was the scapegoat upon whom the sins of both parties were laid. I joined with the rest in denouncing the spirit of legality, and freely forgave Mr. Smith and Mrs. Cragin, considering myself quite as much in the wrong as themselves, for what had passed."

Things being placed on this footing for the past, the little colony of Saints and sinners spent the evening in listening to Noyes. He criticised Perfectionists generally for a spirit of unteachableness and a lack of humility. He also commented on such passages as these: "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not;" "Let no man seek his own;" "The law was made for the lawless and disobedient;" "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." Noyes said he had entered the higher school of Christ, who taught by grace and truth. The lower law-school of Moses was still good for people who were still barbarians and half-civilized, who were yet too coarse to comprehend and appreciate the power of truth as a refining element. When believers are sufficiently refined to receive the spiritual truth taught by Christ and Paul, it enters into them, changes their disposition, and thus secures in them obedience to the Divine will.

"I felt myself," says George, "richly rewarded for all the petty trials I had thus far endured; was will-

ing, I thought, to pay any price for the full and free salvation which Christ had brought into the world. To forsake all for Him—*wife included*, as well as all other valuables, or whatever our attachments had converted into valuables—had now with me a matter-of-fact meaning that I was just beginning to understand. When Christ said, 'Except a man hate father, mother, wife, and children, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple,' he fired a ball into the very centre and heart of the marriage and family spirit. I had been hit, and the egotistical marriage-spirit was bleeding at every pore."

The next day Noyes went over with George and Abram C. to Kingston, two miles from Rondout, and settled with the magistrate of that place who had issued the warrant for his arrest; giving bonds that Smith should in future keep the peace and support his wife. But the bad spirit in the village of Rondout was not quelled. Some of the rough lads wanted a spree; and to the wild spirits of the river-side very few amusements offered so much fun as tarring and feathering a couple of preachers in a good cause. Again a council was held in the stone house. Noyes, whose voice was still for peace, proposed to leave towards evening for his home, taking Smith and his eldest daughter along with him to Vermont. This plan was accordingly acted upon. Noyes thought that, as the mob regarded Smith as the chief offender, his absence might pacify their feelings so as to allow of the other members of the family remaining in peace. And such was the fact. George rowed the

company to Kingston Point, where they were to embark on board a steamer for Albany. On returning to the house early in the evening, he found every thing quiet. No demonstrations were to be either seen or heard; and George and Mary were now left alone—the idolater and his idol. "During Mr. Smith's absence," says George, "I had a time of repose and sober reflection. My past trials, the dangers encountered, the visit from Mr. Noyes, and many other stirring events, seemed much more like a dream or a story of fiction than a reality. The talks, too, given us by Mr. Noyes during his brief sojourn with us, brought an influence of life. I was reminded of the words of another Teacher, who said to a penitent offender, 'Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more.'

"I had been subordinate to Mr. Smith, and had confided in him, up to the time of this visit from Mr. Noyes. But when I reflected upon his return, an unpleasant sensation came over me. Had he been the occasion of much suffering to me, and was I afraid of more? After an absence of two weeks, Mr. Smith was again at home. I was much pleased to see him again in our family. Mr. Noyes, while with us, advised that there should be no further intimacy or special conferences between Mr. Smith and Mrs. Cragin; repeating what he had said three years before in the Battle-Axe Letter, viz., 'Woe to him who abolishes the law of the apostasy, before he stands in the holiness of the resurrection.' Believing that the advice would be faithfully followed, I looked for greater

unity and more fellowship than ever between Mr. Smith, Mrs. Cragin, and myself. In this expectation, however, I was sadly disappointed. It was but a few days before he commenced a game of hypocrisy, that was carried on for weeks before it came to the light. In my presence he would talk in his peculiarly sanctimonious or Methodistical style, clothing his ideas in mystical language, having no other end in view, probably, than the blinding of eyes that might possibly discover the imposition the Tempter was inciting him to practise upon comparatively innocent victims. When alone with Mrs. Cragin, his talk was altogether of another type. Before he could recover his power over her, he must in some way regain her confidence. He was well aware that Mrs. Cragin's confidence in Mr. Noyes was greatly strengthened by his last visit to us. So it would not do to attempt to undermine her foundation of firm faith in the leader of New Haven Perfectionism. To accomplish his end, therefore, he must make it appear to her that he—Smith—had the confidence of Mr. Noyes to the fullest extent; and, being an adept in throwing out insinuations and enigmas, he began the game by hinting to her that Mr. Noyes virtually approved of their past proceedings, and that his late disapproval and public criticism of their acts was chiefly for my benefit.

"While thus playing a successful game in winning back his power over my wife, he resorted to his old trick of keeping me in a harmless, helpless condition, by loading me down heavily with hard work, self-condemnation, and evil-thinking. Unwittingly he was

helping me. The pressure thus put upon me stirred up all the earnestness within me to find the justification and peace of Christ. With my views of the great salvation of God, I very well understood that *I* could not carry the marriage-spirit with me into the heavenly kingdom, if Mr. Smith could; neither could I avoid making the discovery that he was freighting his barge with the same commodity that I was throwing overboard. However, my business was now with God, and not with man. The victory that I was daily praying for was a reconciliation with God and contentment in His service. And that victory came at last. Laboring alone in the field, I had a new view of God's infinite goodness and mercy. The humanity of God, so to speak, in the sacrifice of His only-beloved Son on the cross for the redemption of the world, was so glorious an exhibition of His disinterested love, that my egotism seemed to vanish like darkness before the rising sun. My heavy burdens and great sorrow were all gone. I exclaimed aloud, 'My God and my Father! I can suffer forever, and yet be forever happy in beholding Thy great and pure love to mankind.' Evil-thinking of my wife and Mr. Smith had been taken from me. I was at peace with my circumstances and every body about me."

George Cragin did not know how far the thing had gone between his wife and the Rev. Abram C. Smith. He knew that they had done wrong—done that for which the law would have given him swift redress. He did not know that these two beings had

actually gone through a form of marriage, and had pledged their souls to each other for a partnership of love through all eternity. Yet that was the fact. The Rev. gentleman had persuaded Mary that neither his dead wife nor his living wife was the natural mate of his soul, and that she, Mary Cragin, was that mate. Mary seems to have striven long against this dogma, though she succumbed at last; and their heavenly bridals had been duly performed.

Late in the summer Abram had to go out preaching. Some Saints from Pennsylvania came to Rondout, and it was agreed that Abram should go back with them to their country, passing through New York. Smith desired that Mary should accompany the Saints down the river, where a week in the city would give her a pleasant change. True to his crafty spirit, Abram contrived that the first hint for such a journey should proceed from George, who was wrought upon by a third person to make it, as his wife would not otherwise think of such a course. George saw that she wished to go, though, at the moment of leaving with these religious friends, she paused and sighed, as though she would even then turn back. In the end, adieus were said, and the parties went on board the boat.

"When nearly a week had passed," says George, "I received a few lines from my wife, saying that she intended to leave for home the next evening, and should be happy to meet me on the arrival of the boat at Rondout. That letter, although very short, affected me strangely. It was not the *letter*, but the

spirit or magnetic current back of it, that touched my heart with a kind of fervent heat, that melted at once all the icy feelings that had imperceptibly accumulated towards her. On entering the ladies' cabin, Mrs. Cragin met me with a subdued kind of greeting, yet so affectionate and sincere, that my equanimity was at fault, as tearful eyes involuntarily bore witness. I soon discovered, however, that there was a heavy burden upon her mind, the nature of which she evidently had no freedom to reveal; still, the evidence of a return of her kindly feelings towards me was indisputable, if my inner senses and emotions were to be accepted as proper witnesses in the case. But I had so thoroughly disciplined myself to the minding of my own business, that I neither demanded nor asked for explanations. My sympathies, however, were silently enlisted in her behalf. Could I forget the past?"

Much to his surprise, he heard, a few days later, that the Rev. Abram C., instead of going on his mission at once into Pennsylvania, had loitered for a whole week in New York. What had kept him there? Ah, what?

Some call of business carried George Cragin to New York, and he very properly called on his fellow-Saints, the Lyveres. When he was entering their house, he saw that some great trouble weighed upon Mrs. Lyvere's mind. While he was asking himself what it could mean, she said:

"'Mr. Cragin, the moment you entered our house, the impression came upon me that the Lord had sent

you here, that I might have an opportunity of unburdening my mind to you. You are aware,' she continued, 'that Mr. Smith and Mrs. Cragin have lately spent a week in the city. They were guests of ours most of the time. I had been made acquainted with their unusual proceedings at Rondout last May, and with the subsequent criticism given them by Mr. Noyes. I was also aware of the promise made by Mr. Smith that there should be no repetition of like proceedings or improper intimacy between himself and your wife. That promise, I assure you, Mr. Cragin, has been broken—judging from the evidence of their guilt in my possession. Their conduct while here was very strange. Your wife did her best to appear cheerful, and to hide from me the trial that was upon her; but she could not. Tears would come to her eyes in spite of her will to keep them back, indicating trouble within. Mr. Smith spent hours in talking to her, and at times his language was so severe, that it aroused my indignation against him to the highest degree. One night I overheard him say to her, that if she revealed to you their secret marriage, it would cause an everlasting separation between them. They occupied——'

"'Stop! stop!' I replied, 'I have heard enough. Let the details go; I care not for them. That man, that infernal hypocrite, has deceived me—has lied to me over and over again. But I must keep cool,' I said more calmly; 'Mr. Smith himself is a victim. The devil, the old serpent that seduced Mother Eve, is at the bottom of all this mischief and wrong. Mr.

Smith's abuse of me, and the seduction of my wife, are trifles compared with the wound Mr. Smith has inflicted upon the sacred cause of truth. But I will say no more. I shall be at home to-morrow morning. I believe Mrs. Cragin will tell me the truth, however much it may implicate herself.'"

During this conversation between Mrs. Lyvere and George, the Rev. John B. Lyvere had said but little, though the few words which he dropped corroborated the testimony of his wife.

With a heavy heart George went on board the steamer that was to take him home, to the cold stone house at Rondout, to the spiritual wife of Abram C. Smith. He sat on deck all night and watched the summer stars come forth. The voyage was long; for the vessel had to push her way against wind and tide, so that morning dawned before she came alongside the tiny wharf. George jumped into a canoe, to paddle himself across the Creek.

"The morning sun shone calmly and beneficently upon the still waters of the bay, as I entered a skiff to row myself to the solitary stone house on the opposite shore. As I drew near the landing, only a few rods from our dwelling, I saw the slender form of my wife standing upon the pier to offer her accustomed greeting. But as I approached still nearer, so that she could read the countenance I wore, the playful smile upon her face instantly vanished. With all my mental victories, edifying reflections, and good resolves, during a sleepless night on the Hudson, I still had the burden to carry of a sad, heavy heart. I was

a poor hand at concealing the state of things within me. My wife interpreted at a glance the story I had to tell. We met on the shore, and a sorrowful meeting it was. 'George,' said my wife, 'you know all; the secret is out, and I thank God for revealing it.' 'Yes, Mary,' I replied, 'lying, like murder, will out.' 'I will make a clean breast now,' she said, 'for I can carry the works of darkness no longer.' 'Wait a while,' I replied, 'till I get rested.' I could not talk. A conflict was going on within. Two spirits were struggling for the mastery over me. One would reject her and treat her with the icy coldness and scorn of the unforgiving world. The other would forgive the penitent, and, by sincerity tempered with kindness, lead her back to the Rock, Christ, from whence she had strayed. The good spirit prevailed. We walked to the house like two soldiers who had been badly whipped by the enemy—cast down, but not destroyed. 'We will be brother and sister after this,' I remarked, 'as we don't seem to prosper in this warfare as husband and wife.'"

Brother and sister! The spirit of the old German monks and nuns was upon them. George felt that the crisis of his life had come. He knew that he had been a sad idolater of beauty, wit, and worth. He hoped and prayed that a calmer spirit would be his. He felt no more anger in his heart towards Mary than he would have cherished towards a sister who had gone astray and had come to throw herself at his feet.

George continues his story:

"The day I returned from New York was long to

be remembered as a day of confessions. Mrs. Cragin voluntarily confessed all that was in her heart relating to the intimacy that had existed for the past six months between her and Mr. Smith. Her revelations were not made to cover up faults, but to be delivered from them. She was serious and sorrowful, but her sorrow was not of the world. While listening to her story, the exhortation, 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed,' came home to me clothed with new force and beauty. Indeed, my own heart was so affected and softened by hearing her relate the simple facts in the case, without manifesting the least disposition, as I could see, to screen herself from judgment behind the more aggravated faults of another, that I, too, wanted to confess my own weakness and faults, and cover up those of others. I realized, also, that Mrs. Cragin felt, as all true penitents must feel, that God, much more than man or society, had been wronged by the evil done. When one sees the faults of which one is guilty, and has a hatred of them, a sincere confession of them to others is, virtually, a separation from those faults; and the turning of the heart to God in prayer causes the healing power of His love and forgiveness to flow in upon the wounded spirit."

The explanation between George and Mary as to what was past, and the understanding between them as to what must be, could not be all in all. Abram was away from Rondout, but he would, of course, come back; and from the man's nature it was clear that he could never be restrained from trying to en-

force his rights upon the woman who had contracted towards him the obligations of a spiritual wife.

"The return of Mr. Smith from his mission South was looked for daily. I had not thought so much about dreading his return, until Mrs. Cragin said to me, one day, 'George, you can hardly have a conception of the terrible dread I have at times of meeting that man. The very thought of the bare possibility of again coming under his power is distressing to me.' 'You must put your trust in God,' I replied; 'He can protect you against all harm from men or devils.' While thus exhorting Mrs. Cragin to faith and courage, I was also exhorting myself to exercise the same, in view of the necessity of meeting an old friend in the possible character of an antagonist. I sincerely felt my inability to cope with a spirit so strong as that which I well knew Mr. Smith possessed. With prayerful endeavor, therefore, to fortify ourselves for what might be before us, we patiently waited the issue of coming events.

"Late on the following Saturday night, the family being all in bed, the lights extinguished, and not a sound to be heard save the pattering rain and the monotonous sound of the incoming tide, a loud *rap*, *rap*, *rap*, was heard on the front door, which was soon followed by the well-known voice of Mr. Smith. The first knock thus heard startled the chastened one beside me so suddenly, as to cause much bodily agitation and trembling. As I left my bed to obey the summons, Mrs. Cragin begged of me not to allow Mr. Smith to enter the room we occupied. On opening

the door to let him in, he extended his hand to me, which I declined to take, saying, as I did so, 'No, Mr. Smith, I cannot take the hand of one who has so cruelly wronged me;' and then adding, 'Your deeds of darkness have come to the light.' His only reply was, 'Where is Mary? I want to see her.' 'You cannot,' I replied. 'Moreover, she absolutely declines seeing you, or speaking to you. She has revealed all.' And, so saying, I returned to my room.

"Little, indeed, was the sleep that visited our pillows that stormy night. From the tone of his voice and the attitude of his spirit we well knew that no conviction of guilt, no repentance of evil committed, had overtaken Mr. Smith during his absence. We felt, too, that his heart was set on war, if need be, for the recovery of his fancied rights to the woman whom his delusion had led astray. What a sudden change of the position of the parties! Mrs. Cragin was now anxious to shun the very man whom, only a few weeks before, she had implicitly trusted and loved to adoration. 'George,' she said to me, 'you must not for one moment leave me alone with him. He will invent every conceivable plan to see me; prevent him.' I promised to do my best. Thus the night was spent, very much, I imagine, as an army spends the night in front of the enemy.

"The morning came quite soon enough, for I had to confess the presence of feelings very much opposed to the inevitable conflict I saw before me. But as there was no such alternative as retreat from the position in which Providence had placed me, I arose with

the prayer in my heart for grace to do that which would please the Spirit of Truth. In the course of the morning, Mr. Smith, Mrs. Cragin, and myself, were alone in the sitting-room. Mr. Smith put on a triumphant air, inviting no candid talk or investigation of his past proceedings; neither did he make any concessions as to the questionable wisdom of the course he had adopted, but stood firmly and resolutely on the assumed ground that he had pleased God in all that he had done; appealing, moreover, to Heaven, in a presumptuous way, for the justification of his deeds. This was said, not directly to me, but, as one might suppose, to an imaginary audience before whom he was delivering a sermon on self-justification. His manner of defence was peculiarly his own, being a compound of preaching, praying, and ejaculation, interpolated with singing, amens, and hallelujahs. Of course, I was regarded by him with great contempt for presuming to sit in judgment upon his course and actions. Nevertheless, I stood firmly by the judgment I had given, namely, that he had been, and was still, under the delusion of the devil. I repeated that judgment whenever he addressed me directly, adding very little besides, regarding it my main business to remain by Mrs. Cragin according to my promise."

George could find the strength to make new conditions with his idol; but he could not yield her to the reverend gentleman who claimed her as a spiritual wife.

George tells the story of his struggle with the mastering spirit of the Methodist preacher in words

which I prefer to save. No art of mine shall come between the reader and this strange confession from a wounded soul.

"From morning till night the battle thus raged with unabated fierceness; not, however, in the form of combative words, as between two flesh-and-blood assailants, but it was the wrestling of our spirits with principalities and invisible powers, to see which would carry the day. Once, his eloquence in preaching and praying might have conquered me, as I was, I suppose, easily affected by such kind of demagogism, provided the performer had my confidence. But understanding for a certainty, as I then did, that the person thus speaking was not to be trusted, and that he was given to deception and lying, he might as well have undertaken to melt the Rocky Mountains by his declamation, as to move me from my convictions. Mr. Smith was under the erroneous impression that the affections of Mrs. Cragin were still his; and that, if he could only overpower the *legal* husband, the *spiritual* one would readily and easily recover his lost prize. Hence his unceasing efforts.

"Finally, his zeal began to wane, seeing that he was losing rather than gaining ground. So, early in the evening, he suddenly changed his base, by declaring that he had made up his mind to start immediately for Putney. 'Very well,' I replied, 'you could not do a better thing. My confidence in Mr. Noyes,' I continued, 'is still unshaken. I will submit my side of the case to his judgment and decision.' Mr. Smith was now pleasant and genial, and in this state asked

me if I would do him a favor. 'Certainly,' I replied; 'what shall it be?' 'Write a line to Brother Noyes, saying that you cherish no unkind personal feelings towards me.' I complied with the request. He was then ready for the journey, at the same time inviting me to row him across the Creek. I did so, and, on leaving the boat, he wished me to give him a parting kiss, as a token of my kind regards. With this request I also complied. Not until I had returned to the house, however, and reported to Mrs. Cragin this last diplomatic manœuvre, did I divine the motive by which he was actuated in thus suddenly making love to me. He was aware that Lyvere had been sent on to Putney as a witness against him. So, lawyer-like, he was going fully prepared, as he thought, to rebut Lyvere's testimony, by proving that he had parted with me on the best of terms. I must admit that I felt a little chagrined to think I could allow myself to be so easily imposed upon after all that had transpired. However, I did not allow such trickery on his part to disturb me seriously, believing, as I did, that Mr. Noyes possessed the discernment which would enable him to detect the spirit of imposition that would soon confront him."

George Cragin did not see the face of the Rev. Abram C. Smith again for many years. Noyes told his once disciple that he was no better than a rogue, whom he felt it a duty to denounce before all the world. Smith saw and confessed his error; promised to sin no more; returned to Rondout; asked his angry wife to come home; and devoted his energies

to making money, in which he succeeded better than in making love.

Cragin says of him, in parting:

"He was a man of strong social affections. With his first wife he lived peaceably, and was a kind husband; but her affectional nature, as compared with his own, was icy coldness. Not finding, therefore, the satisfaction his ardent nature craved in his own family, he gathered up what crumbs he could find, to meet the demands of special friendship, in the field of his labors as a Methodist preacher. So that, according to his own confessions, he was much more at home in the church meetings, *which were mostly made up of females, than in his own family circle.* With his second wife, a still greater disappointment afflicted him. There was in her no lack of sensuous life, but a total lack of religious faith and moral integrity to sanctify it. Hence, in his domestic and social relations thus far, he had not realized his dreams of connubial felicity. But in forming an acquaintance with Mrs. Cragin, he found a woman whose nature was preeminently affectional. With large veneration for God and man, but with little or no cautiousness, and very unselfish, she soon became all the world, and heaven besides, to Mr. Smith. In defending his late conduct, Mr. Smith based his argument on the fanatical assumption that the invisible powers, with whom he claimed to be in constant communication, had given him Mrs. Cragin as his true affinity—*his spiritual wife and companion, to be his in all ages to come*—alleging that the two previous ones were not adapted

to his spiritual needs, or, in other words, were not, either of them, his true mate. The invisible power who thus promised him a choice bit of property was undoubtedly the same infamous and unscrupulous speculator who held out very tempting prizes to the Son of God. If Mr. Smith's delusion on this subject originated anywhere outside of his morbid social affections, it is to be attributed to the social influences of the nominal church, or to the habits of the clerical class of which he had been a member, in being associated so much as they are with women, as their special co-laborers in the religious field."

Husband and wife, now come into their new relation of pious brother and pious sister, had to face the world once more. They had been cured of their idolatrous love for each other; but they had not yet become free of the question as to how they were to gain their daily bread.

"Mr. Smith having left for Vermont, as before stated, the question now came home to me with serious emphasis, What is the will of God concerning my future course? To learn that will, and obey it, at the cost of any temporal discomforts and sacrifices, was my duty, and should be my pleasure. After waiting on God a while, as a man waits on a friend who he is assured has the means and the disposition to relieve him, some flashes of light entered my mind; and this light gradually increased, until I interpreted its meaning so clearly and satisfactorily, that I could not do otherwise than accept it as the will of my heavenly Father concerning the first step to be taken in the

premises. I said to Mrs. Cragin, 'My mind is made up to leave this place, just as soon as I can arrange my business to do so, and without waiting for the return of Mr. Smith.'

"'But where can we go?' inquired my wife.

"'The light came from the East,' I replied; 'so I am going first to New York. When there, I shall expect directions where to go next. Sufficient unto the day are the directions thereof.'

"Mrs. Cragin was almost overjoyed at the purpose I had formed. The first thing to be done was to find an opening for the disposal of our furniture, most of which was mahogany, and more costly than laboring people could afford to purchase. Our nearest neighbor on that side of the Creek was a Dutch farmer in fair circumstances. I went at once to his house and reported my business. He had unmarried daughters. The entire family returned with me to examine the goods, and the result was, I sold them every piece of furniture I had to dispose of, at prices that pleased them. The love of money was not a vice that I was guilty of just then. The crops I had cultivated, and of which I was somewhat proud—this being my first attempt at farming since my boyhood days—I left, of course. In less than a week, therefore, from the time that I regarded myself as having received orders to remove from that station, I had settled up all business-matters for which I was responsible, had my goods that we were to take with us all packed, and taken over the Creek to a steamer lying at Rondout wharf; and on the 2d day of September, 1840, we

took our leave of our friends at the old stone house, and were ferried across the river to the boat bound for New York."

Peace returned in time to the bosom of this distracted house. In a few days Mary was able to write in her defence to Father Noyes:

"Since the fatal charm has been dissolved, I see how I have been deceived and duped, and taught to believe that I was in an inner circle, where it was right and pleasing to God to do what I did. . . . I never, in my heart, turned aside from the promise I made to you when you were at our house last Spring. Again and again I asked Mr. Smith if you would be pleased with our course (for I had terrible misgivings), when he assured me that you would, and that he himself would tell you. . . . Guilty as I am, I have been miserably deceived and deluded by him. I am reaping the curse of trusting in man, and I deserve it. It was the instruction I received to lie and deceive, that first began to open my eyes. I thank God for the judgment that has overtaken me, and is compelling me to see my errors, and making me, from my innermost soul, condemn them, even if I am to be sent to hell at last."

George adds, by way of final moral:

"To sum up our experience during this time, I might say that, for the previous six months, we had been given over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, having been put into a sort of purgatory, or devil's-cure process, for purging us of egotism and self-conceit. Being thus greatly reduced as regarded

self-valuation, we filled a much smaller place in the world, after emerging from that Satanic bath, than ever before, making us much more teachable and available to the powers above us and for whom we were created, than we otherwise could have been."

Subsequently husband and wife entered, as brother and sister in the Lord, very heartily into the communistic experiment in Oneida Creek, of which Mary Cragin very soon became the vital soul.

Some years later still, she was drowned by a boat accident in that very Rondout Creek which had been the scene of her trials as spiritual wife to the Rev. Abram C. Smith.

Many of her writings on religious subjects have been published; and an obelisk has been raised above her tomb.

CHAPTER XXI.

RETROSPECTIVE.

A Glance Backward.—Motive in Writing.—The Saints at War with Religion and Society.—They are the Attacking Party.—This Book a Reply to them.—A Plain Statement.—Summary of Facts Established.—How the Saints Conduct their War upon Society.—The Cry of "Persecution."—How *The Circular* is Used.—Its Success.—Specimen Articles from *The Circular*.—Attack upon Marriage.—"Let there be Light."—"Who shall Judge?"—How Converts are Made.—The Object of the Saints.—Noyes' Pamphlet.—"Male Continence Explained."—How it is Circulated.—A Vile Trick—"The History of American Socialisms."—The Duty of Society to Break Up the Free-Love Organization.—The True State of the Case.—Action of the People of Madison County.—Demand for the Suppression of the Oneida Community.

We have now reached a point at which it is necessary to pause and look back over what has been said in these pages, before dismissing the Oneida Community to the infamy they so richly merit. I have endeavored to write plainly, but at the same time to write fairly—to lay the case before the reader as it presented itself to me; and I have done so without fear and without malice. What I have written is not meant as an attack upon John Humphrey Noyes and his disciples, but as a reply to the assaults they have made and are now making upon society; for they are

unflagging in the warfare they wage upon all that we in the world regard as good and valuable. They spare no effort to spread their doctrines throughout the country, but when a single voice is raised against them in the cause of religion and morality, they at once resort to the cry of "Persecution," with the hope of driving off their assailant and drawing to themselves that maudlin sympathy which the American people, with a mistaken liberality, give to every enterprise of a professedly religious character.

I repeat it, the members of the Oneida Community have thrown down the gage of battle, and it has become the duty of some one to take it up. This duty the writer has assumed, and has conscientiously endeavored to discharge. Others there have been who have touched upon the subject, but in a manner calculated to do more harm than good. Some of these works, though unquestionably brilliant and rich in thought, throw around the hideous immorality of the Oneida Free Lovers a glamour of romance, a mysteriousness, which fascinate instead of shocking the reader. Those who have visited the Oneida Community and seen for themselves the practical workings of the doctrines held there, will bear witness that there is nothing either fascinating or elevating connected with the place. Yet the majority of those who touch upon the subject have invested it with a score of charms which it does not possess, and, as a natural consequence, the public have been deceived into regarding this Free-Love colony as a set of harmless enthusiasts, as a band of dreamers seeking for a

higher and purer mode of life. All the while, these dreamers, these harmless enthusiasts, have been working busily to undermine the foundations of that society which tolerates them, and have achieved such a degree of success in this effort, that it has become a matter of absolute necessity that the public should have an opportunity of seeing them in their true colors. The writer, therefore, has sought to state facts as he found them; and if the story he has told is a revolting one, it is not his fault. Indeed, he has not been able to lay before the reader all the abominations of the Saints, for the reason that many of them will not bear discussion. His aim has been to call the attention of the friends of religion and morality in this country to this horrible "social plague-spot," in the hope not only of counteracting some of the evil which the Saints have done, but also of awakening the people of the country to the duty of suppressing the cause of the trouble, or at least of requiring of the Saints that obedience to the laws of the land that is demanded of every other man and woman in the country.

The statements made in the foregoing pages will leave no doubt in the mind of any reader that the Oneida Saints are living in open violation of the law of the State of New York, as well as of the Divine law, and that the civil authorities are shamefully remiss in their duty in allowing such a state of affairs to continue. These statements are true. I have verified each one of them by quotations from the authorized publications of the Saints, and my own personal

observation in many instances has enabled me to know whereof I write. I have shown beyond all possibility of doubt,

I. That the Oneida Community is an organization which, having placed itself beyond the pale of Christianity by denying and trampling upon its essential truths, is not entitled to any degree of toleration upon religious grounds by Christian men. It is the solemn duty of every one calling himself a Christian to denounce and oppose it, and to work for its overthrow.

II. That the Oneida Community is not entitled to toleration on the ground of morality, since its fundamental doctrine of "Complex Marriage," which is simply the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, is utterly subversive of morality.

III. That in the eyes of the law, both Divine and civil, the Community is composed of men and women living in open adultery; that the men are adulterers and the women harlots; and that such children as may be born in the Community to persons not legally married are bastards.

IV. That one of the prime objects of the organization is the practice of adultery.

V. That the sexual relations as conducted by the Oneida Community are impure, unhealthy, and degrading, and that it is considered the religious duty of the members to degrade and brutalize the sexual office by the practice of "male continence."

VI. That the children of the Community are trained to vice and debauchery, and that they are required to engage in it in a manner revolting to Na-

ture, and at an age when they are physically unsuited to it.

VII. That its so-called religion is a sham, an imposture; that its chief attractiveness to its members is its gross licentiousness; and that the establishment and its branches constitute one vast brothel.

Having shown this, and proved it beyond the possibility of a doubt, it now remains for me to show how these wretches (whom our modern reformers—and I could give some eminent Gentile names among their apologists—have endeavored to exalt to the dignity of a religious sect, and for whom toleration and protection are asked) are waging war upon society and religion. They have made the attack, and cannot justly plead persecution when they are assailed in turn, though they will probably be quick to do so.

I am aware that the Saints claim that they simply desire to be left to themselves. "Let us alone," they say, "and we will not trouble you." A few months ago, several prominent newspapers of the Union undertook the publication of a series of articles devoted to an exposure of the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Community. Immediately the Saints cried out that they were a peaceable, harmless "family;" that they sought to molest no one—to make no converts; and that they desired simply, and claimed the right, to be let alone. They dwelt "long and loud" upon the assertion that they were harmless, and did not seek to molest society, and, doubtless, succeeded in inducing some persons to believe them. Their assertion is false, however. They are not harmless; they

are very dangerous. They do not go out into the world and preach their doctrines publicly, it is true, but they spread their publications all over the country.

The organ of the Community is the weekly journal called *The Circular*, which has already been referred to. This paper is a queer compound of blasphemy, filthiness, and shrewdness. It is sent *free* to all who apply for it. It is mailed to almost every State in the Union, and each copy is read by many persons. Its patrons are chiefly persons of an humble social position and with but a smattering of knowledge, but it is read by many of average education and intelligence, and by many young persons. The object of this publication is to make known the religious and social doctrines of the Saints, and to make converts to them in the world. The first and second pages are given to religious, or rather to blasphemous, topics, and the editorial (fourth) and fifth pages to social questions. Care is taken that each number shall contain some attack upon marriage, upon the family as it exists in the world, and upon the relations of the sexes as they are recognized in Christian society. Besides these, other articles appear glorifying Free Love and "Male Continence," and painting Communistic pictures in such glowing colors, that weak imaginations are captivated by them. In proof of this assertion, I quote three articles (in the order in which they appeared in that journal) from the editorial page of *The Circular* for Monday, April 25th, 1870:

"FUNERAL SERMON.

"'Why do we mourn departing friends,
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends
To call us to His arms.'

"Two notable things are visible in the drift of the times—one negative and the other positive.

"The negative is the decay of marriage.

"The positive is the growth of demand for scientific propagation.

"Every body says that marriage is dying. *We* hold that it is actually dead. And it was not killed by the Oneida Community, nor by the Mormons, nor by the Shakers; nor yet by growth of ordinary licentiousness, nor by the increased facilities of divorce, nor by the outbreak of fœticide. These are only symptoms and dying changes. It was struck with death twenty-five years ago, when Brook Farm let loose upon it Fourierism and Swedenborgianism. Fourierism, with its Phalansteries, struck at the life of the family. Swedenborgianism, with its predestined and eternal mating, made an end of the worldly covenant of marriage. Spiritualism, the equivalent and other self of Swedenborgianism, inaugurated systematic Free Love as the legitimate condition of the new kingdom, in which there is no partition between the living and the dead. The verdict of the coroner's inquest on Marriage might be: *Died by visitation of Hades.* The Oneida Community was not in at the death, but since that event has been doing its best to

settle the estate of the deceased, and save what it can.

"Right along with this dying of Marriage, has arisen a clamorous demand for scientific propagation. Darwin has been dealing out the law of stirpiculture by wholesale to the scientifics, and the phrenologists and popular physiologists have retailed it to the masses, till every body is under conviction about it. It is wonderful to see how unanimous the acknowledgment has become, that we ought to be doing for man what has been done for horses, swine, and potatoes. With all the cursing of the Oneida Community that is going on, not a word is said against our movement in favor of scientific propagation. Every body commends it. Brick Pomeroy and *Frank Leslie*, and even the scalawags of *Day's Doings*, stop in the midst of their tirades against our social principles to compliment us for our attempt to inaugurate intelligent breeding of human beings. The times are evidently ripe for a positive movement in this direction, whether the Oneida Community has commenced that movement or not.

"Here, then, are two notable things together—marriage dying, and scientific propagation coming to the birth. Is there no discoverable relation between them?

"Certainly scientific propagation is impossible so long and so far as mating is done by promiscuous scrambling, which is the very nature of marriage. If the time has really come for scientific propagation, then the time has come for the departure of marriage,

and the reconstruction of society on principles which will allow science to lay its hand on the business of mating.

"So we understand the compound movement that is in progress. We are not responsible for it, and have but a small place and agency in it. It is under the management of the higher powers which are comprised in what we call Providence. Their purpose, if we understand it, is to introduce scientific human propagation, and by it people the world with a new race, as much higher in the scale of being as the present race is higher than monkeys. And for this positive beneficent purpose they are wisely and slowly, but surely, removing the institutions that stand in their way. This is the meaning to us of all that is negative and destructive in the aspect of the times.

"J. H. N."

"LET THERE BE LIGHT."

"The claims of male continence to respect and admiration seem to me to be infinitely greater than any which have yet been bespoken for it. The increase of happiness which it will bring to the human family I am persuaded will be inestimable, and, as sure as the sun shines, it will receive the encomiums of the scientific and the blessing of all mankind. For male continence, unlike many advantages, is not necessarily restricted to Communism. It may do for the isolated family what it has done for the Oneida Com-

munity. And what has male continence done for the Oneida Community? It has brought self-control and civilization into a department for ages given over to shame and darkness. It has made of love what God intended it to be—a radiant child of the light, without fear or shame; and, finally, it has caused the relation of the sexes to become a never-ending romance, and environed it with an unspeakable lustre.

"Frank Leslie was right in depicting the candor and freedom with which the sexual relation is considered at the Oneida Community. It is the glory of the Oneida Community that its children are trained to walk in the light, and it is by so doing that they have made its atmosphere so irresistible as it is to visitors.

"For twenty years the men of the Oneida Community have carried self-control where it has been deemed impossible. In so doing, they have made of male continence a solid, stubborn fact, and have for ever exploded the notion that love is a passion which cannot be governed. What have the men gained by it? They have been more than rewarded in direct happiness, and have received an education in self-government which all the universities in the world could not bestow. More intellectual men, more brilliant men, may readily be found; but you may search in vain for men of more genuine purity, men with clearer eyes, better consciences, or braver hearts.

"But if the men of the Oneida Community have been ennobled by male continence, still more have the women been exalted by it. Secured from undesired childbirth and the blasting effects of ungoverned pas-

sion, they have all the sprightly spontaneity of natures reared in a soil free from fear, and make of the Oneida Community a home which princes might envy. Free to expand in every direction, they are continually blossoming out in new occupations, making labor unique and romantic.

"Now that male continence has become a thoroughly established fact in the Oneida Community, it appears that it is an indispensable adjunct to stirpiculture. Without disturbing the beauty of the home, without social proscription of any kind, it opens the way for breeding the race of heroes which we are expecting on the Oneida Community stage.

"G. N. M."

"WHO SHALL JUDGE?

"Many who talk and write of the Oneida Community, rant about its being the grave of liberty—the place where individuality is lost, and where the ambition which every young person must feel is drowned in the will of a superior. A happy death, say I. I have lived in the Community since I was four years old; I am twenty-five now; and during that time, since I was old enough to have a definite ambition, I have found that it required all my energies to keep pace with the promotions I have received.

"My prospects before my father joined the Oneida Community were these: he was a mechanic, and

owned a farm. I was his fifth child. If I received any thing above an average education, or rose above the rank of a common mechanic, it must have been by my own exertions. But, having been brought to the Community when so young, I laid the foundations of a business education in the Oneida Community trap and carpenter shops, where I worked more or less for six years. When I was nineteen or twenty, I was placed with another young man in charge of the agricultural works and foundry, which the Community had then recently purchased. After a time I commenced book-keeping, and filled a place left vacant by a young man who had gone as book-keeper to our New York agency. I worked at book-keeping more or less for two years, during which time, when business was pressing, I spent one winter as foreman of the finishing department of the trap-shop. At the end of this time I was invited to go to New York to assist in book-keeping. I was pleased with this invitation, and did not look for further privileges; but while at New York, much to my surprise and delight, I was informed that I was one of four whom the Community had chosen to receive instruction in singing from a professional musician; therefore I spent the following winter under the tuition of an eminent teacher of music, and had frequent opportunities of attending oratorios, &c., which were performed by the best talent of New York.

"When the move for concentration of the different branches of the Oneida Community came about, in 1868, I returned with the rest to Oneida, and was

given the charge of the carpentering department. This I found to be an excellent school for me, and one which I much enjoyed, as we were considerably engaged in building. While thus employed, I learned that the Community thought best to send two more students to Yale College, and had suggested that I be one of them; so I am, at present, engaged in preparing myself for the July examination, which is the preliminary to a three-year's course at 'Old Yale.'

"Now, have I lost any outward advancement by being a member of the Community? Have I less liberty than I should have had were I obliged to work for my living? If so, I have yet to find it out.

"The question must arise some time, What is the greatest liberty a man can have? Can it be liberty to make and spend money—liberty to do as he pleases, regardless of others? Hardly. Above all outward things, man's greatest liberty is to love God with all his heart. This is the lesson I am learning in the Community, and I am thankful that God has given me liberty to learn of my superiors.

"C. A. B."*

These are fair specimens of the articles which appear in each and every number of *The Circular*, with the single exception that they are better in tone than the majority, and which the Saints scatter over the

* In the world, a young man possessing talents such as this writer claims would have achieved a far more marked success, and have been of far more use to his fellow-men, than he can be in the Oneida Community.—*Author.*

country free of charge. They well know that their paper will be read, and they do all in their power to increase its circulation. They have but one motive in this: they wish to spread their doctrines, and, if possible, degrade the world to their own level. This, indeed, is their avowed object, and it is their boast that they have many sympathizers in this country. They pride themselves upon the fact that their paper has made them many converts; and, though they are not willing to increase their own numbers beyond the present limit, they do not hesitate to declare that they hope to see other Communities founded upon exactly the same plan.

Here, then, we have these "harmless enthusiasts," these "dreamers," engaged in printing and circulating gratuitously, or at the low price of one dollar per annum where a subscription is received at all, a paper, the avowed object of which is to break down religion and morality. More than this: we find them boasting of the success which attends their efforts. But they do not seek merely to break down religion and morality in society. They go farther, and endeavor to supply their places with licentiousness and filth. This is the avowed object of *The Circular*—to spread the doctrines of "Bible Communism" and "Male Continence." They boast of their success in this effort, and yet have the audacity to demand that we shall let them alone—that we shall suffer them to continue their efforts to sap the very foundations of our social structure.

But, bad as *The Circular* is, it does not compare

in filthiness with the pamphlet called "Male Continence," of which John H. Noyes is the author, and which is sold at a merely nominal price. This pamphlet is advertised conspicuously in every number of *The Circular*, and is naturally in considerable demand. The Saints do all in their power to increase its circulation, in the avowed hope of inducing married men in the world to adopt their filthy and frightfully unhealthy mode of preventing conception. Their chief effort seems to be to bring this vile production to the notice of as many persons as possible; for, not content with publishing it as a separate document, they have included it in the Handbook (or Guide-Book) to the Oneida Community, so that every person visiting the place and purchasing a copy of the Guide shall of necessity see it. The Saints know well that, once seen, it will be read. The Visitors' Register shows that a large number of persons visiting the place are women. It is fair to suppose that the majority of the visitors buy the Guide; and as few are under the necessity of using it at the time, owing to the readiness with which strangers are shown through the establishment, it is probably carried home, to be read, or to be kept as a reminiscence of the visit to the Community. Scarcely one purchaser in a thousand is aware of the vile character of the last seven pages of the Guide-Book; but, sooner or later, the purchaser is sure to discover it. The Saints are perfectly aware of this, and know that they can gain many readers by smuggling the pamphlet into the hands of respectable people. In a preceding chapter

I have quoted Noyes' boast of the effect which the doctrine has had upon society at large.

Yet, while actively engaged in the effort to spread this infamous practice, and, with it, to spread immorality, the Saints demand that we shall let them alone, and declare that they seek to harm no one.

Their latest publication, "The History of American Socialisms," bears the imprint of one of the oldest and best publishing houses of the country, and has commanded a more respectable class of readers than the others. It is written in the interest of Communism as practised at Oneida, and devotes thirty-two pages to an elaborate statement of the religious and social doctrines of the Oneida Community; "a Community which," says *Lippincott's Magazine*, "shrouds its assault upon the family, the purity of womanhood, and the preservation and perpetuation of life itself, in pious phrases, and declares, with an audacity which is positively unparalleled for effrontery in the literature of vice, that 'holiness must go before free love.'" A very large number of the quotations which I have made in stating the doctrines of the Saints, are taken from this work, and, by referring to them, the reader will see that, in this "History of American Socialisms," Noyes has made a very decided attack upon religion and morality, and as decided an effort to spread his own doctrines.

In addition to these, I may mention "The Berean" and "Bible Communism," two elaborate works by Noyes, which, though not in general circulation at present, have done their work, and are still to be

found in some of our public libraries. The latter is mainly devoted to the socialistic features of Noyes' faith, and is as objectionable as any of his subsequent works, if not more so.

Thus the reader will see that I have not exaggerated in declaring that the Saints are engaged in a constant and dangerous war against society, and that they began the war. They have attacked, and are still assailing, all that men hold dear on earth—their religion, their homes, and their domestic peace and happiness—and they boast of their success. It matters not that some may think the attack lacking in vigor. It is an attack none the less, and it has done a certain amount of damage. It has drawn many weak-minded persons, many persons of loose principles, into paths of vice and licentiousness. It has done harm, and it is of a character which renders it dangerous. The Saints do not seek to increase their own numbers so much as to lower the standard of morality in the world, and so corrupt the views of men that they will cease to think the system which prevails at Oneida an abomination.

People who are engaged in such an effort have no right to expect toleration from society. They have no right to expect any mercy from men who value religion and morality. Society has borne with them long enough, and it is time that they should be made to feel the vengeance of an outraged public. Our law forbids prostitution, and punishes the poor wretch who seeks her bread on the streets. How much more severely should it punish the prostitutes and adulter-

ers of the Oneida Community, who not only commit the crime of the street-walker and her companion, but attack the law itself. Free Love has been tolerated long enough. The time has come when it must be put down. We do not need to seek the boasts of the Saints, that their doctrines are spreading in the world. We have but to look about us to see them cropping out in every feature of society, in the lax morality of social life, in the increase of illicit association between the sexes, in the disregard of the marriage obligation, in the increase of divorce and of the facility for obtaining it. The evil seed sown by the Oneida Saints and their fellow-workers in iniquity are bearing their fruit all around us, and already Noyes boasts that marriage is dead.

It is an outrage that such a Community as the Oneida Saints should be permitted to exist. It is full of danger to the country. It is impossible that it should exist without doing harm. Satan never had a better-organized agency for doing his work in this world, and it is doing it with a will. As far as its means—which are ample—will allow, it is spreading its vile doctrines, corrupting men and women, poisoning the minds of young people, and inaugurating an era of lust and filthy living. It is working to bring the civil law into disrepute, to weaken its force, and to annihilate female virtue. Such an institution has no claim to toleration. It exists in defiance of the laws, and ought to be broken up.

Doubtless some such step as this would have been taken, had not the people of Madison County cared

more for their pecuniary than for their moral welfare. The residents of the County, and especially of the village of Oneida, look upon the Saints with any thing but favorable eyes. "But what can we do?" said one of them to me. "If a man opens his lips against the Community or their practices, he loses their trade. As it is, they deal very largely with us." So that, for the sake of a slight pecuniary advantage, the people of Madison County are willing that this social plague-spot should exist in their midst, and that it should bear its fruit—for the poison will spread. Nay, more than this: they send their sons and daughters to work in the factories of the Community, and thus expose them to actual contact with the vice they condemn. Nothing could be more cowardly, more dangerous, than the course pursued by the people and authorities of the County in which the Free-Love brothel is located. The law can reach this case and remedy the evil, and it is cowardly to delay the course of justice. It may be, after all, that the Gentile residents of the County are secretly in sympathy with the Saints. If so, we can easily understand their course; but still, it would be more manly to make an honest avowal of their sentiments.

Thus we find that the Oneida Community, the most successful of all the Free-Love experiments of the country, is in reality a vast *bagnio;* that it is based socially upon the abolition of male and female virtue, and is conducted in filthiness and utter shamelessness; that its material success is owing to its controlling an article of prime necessity under the protec-

tion of a patent; and that it is degrading and vicious in every feature of its "religious" and social life. Under these circumstances, the demand for its suppression is well-grounded.

BERLIN HEIGHTS.

CHAPTER XXII.

BERLIN HEIGHTS.

Position of the Village.—Lake Erie.—Magnificent Prospect.—Reputation of the Village.—Story of an Old Citizen.—Arrival of Reformers.—The First Free-Love Colony.—A New Experiment Organizing.—First Efforts at Berlin Heights.—Early Disadvantages.—Alarm of the Villagers.—Abominable Doctrines Advocated.—Marriage Dispensed with.—Evil Rumors.—Imprudent Course of the Free Lovers.—Suspicious Indications.—Action of the Villagers.—The Newspaper War.—Tactics of the Free Lovers.—Their Success.—The First Indignation Meeting.—Its Failure.—Exultation of the Free Lovers.—The *Social Revolutionist*.—An Outrageous Publication.—Indignation of the Villagers.—The Second Indignation Meeting.—Division of Sentiment.—The Free Lovers are Requested to Leave the Place.—They Refuse.—Demand for Mob Law.—Arrest of the Leaders of the Free-Love Party.—Their Trial.—Defeat of the Villagers.—Mob Violence Inaugurated.—Attack on Frank Barry.—Destruction of his Documents.—Effects of this Outrage.—The Political Canvass.—The Election of the Free-Love Ticket.—The "Eden Group."—Strange Rumors.—Adventure of a Man in Search of a Lost Cow.—A Picture of Eden Innocence.—The Secret Out.—General Indignation.—Action of the Villagers.—The Free Lovers Refuse to Withdraw.—Dr. Overton's Reply.—Settlement of the Matter.—Failure of Berlin Heights as a Free-Love Colony.—Departure of the Leaders.—The Sequel.

TAKING the Cleveland and Sandusky Railway (which is a branch of the Lake Shore Line) from the former terminus, the traveller, in about two hours, reaches an unimportant way-station called Berlin, forty-five miles west of Cleveland, and fifteen miles east of Sandusky, Ohio. The place, in spite of its proud name, boasts but one edifice, a large frame

building, which serves as the residence of the station-master, a country store, and, if I mistake not, a mill. From this point a conveyance may be had to the village of Berlin Heights, which lies three miles back from the railway, and to the south of it. Here, passable accommodations can be procured at an indifferent hotel.

The village has a population of from fifteen hundred to two thousand souls, and differs from the average Western town in nothing that I could discover. The houses are of wood, and are not very tasteful, and the entire place is dull and stupid.

The location is magnificent. The village covers a considerable area, the houses having ample grounds, and is built on the highest point of the range of highlands that extends from the eastern halfway to the western boundary of the State, and at a distance of from one to three miles south of Lake Erie. The country is attractive, and the view from the highest point, which is called the Pinnacle, is very fine. To the southward, eastward, and westward, the land is rolling and thickly wooded. Here and there a capital farm appears, with its cleanly-cultivated land and its neat buildings. To the northward the blue expanse of the lake stretches away for miles until it seems to meet the sky. The eye ranges over the group of islands known as Gibraltar, Ballast, &c., on the former of which stands Jay Cooke's palatial villa. Close by is Put-in Bay, where Perry's victorious fleet anchored after its hard-won victory, to repair its damages and bury its dead. When the wind is from the

north, it brings with it the sound of the thunder of the surf as it breaks upon the shore, and the heat of the summer is tempered by the cool breeze, as it sweeps in from the lake. A better location for a settlement, or a more beautiful view, cannot be found in the West.

But it was not the beauty of the scenery, the delicious coolness of the lake breeze, or the fertility of the land, that took me to Berlin Heights. It was the fact that this place was the scene of the most important (excepting the Oneida Community) Free-Love experiment ever tried in America, and I went there in search of the information upon the subject which I hope to embody in these pages, and which I shall endeavor to convey to the reader as told by an old resident of the place. My attention had been drawn to the village by allusions to it in the newspaper press of the country, and by the following remarks of an English writer:

"The Free Lovers, who have their headquarters in New York, have various settlements throughout the country, in which their principles are said to reign supreme. The most famous, perhaps, of these settlements, are the villages called Berlin Heights and Modern Times.

"Berlin Heights is a village in the State of Ohio, in which bands of Free Lovers have settled so as to be a comfort and protection to each other; also for the conveniences offered to hapless pairs by a large matrimonial exchange. Many people come and go, and the population of Berlin Heights, I am told, is

always changing. No one likes to stay there long; the odor of the place being rather rank, even in the nostrils of an emancipated female. But the Free Lovers tell you that a great many persons sympathize with the free life on Berlin Heights, who in their social cowardice shrink from writing their names in the visitors' books."

Nearly every reader is familiar with Artemas Ward's account of his visit to the place, but few understand what a mass of corruption the humorist sought to satirize in his amusing letter.

"It was in the year 1854," said the old man in whose words I wish to tell this story, "that the first of the Free-Love set made his appearance at Berlin Heights. The village was a small, pleasant little place, and, better still, it was thoroughly respectable. The inhabitants were decent people, and we had never done any thing to forfeit the good opinion of the rest of the country. The land about here was very fair, and prices were much lower than they are now. A great many strangers were coming and going, some of them being pleased with the country, and some thinking they could do better elsewhere. A few bought land and settled down here, and we began to grow slowly but steadily in population. In the year that I speak of, a number of these long-haired, sleek-looking fellows came out here to buy land and form a settlement.

"The leader of the gang was Francis Barry, an oily, plausible fellow, who had some good points about him, and who was even liked by our people

until his doctrines made him unpopular. Barry was followed by a lot of his friends, men and women, and as soon as they got here they commenced what they called their warfare against marriage. Barry was a good hand at lecturing, so they sent him around the country to speak in behalf of their cause. He and his friends started two or three newspapers in various parts of the country, in which they advocated their Free-Love doctrines, and announced Berlin Heights as the centre of their movement. This continued for three years, during which time they continued to increase rapidly. Every week some new member would come in."

"Where is Barry at present?"

"In New York. He is the leader of a 'Reform Club,' or a 'New Protectorate,' or something of the kind, and I am told that it is his intention to attempt another experiment on the Berlin Heights plan. Let me say, at the outset, that I don't think Barry directly encouraged the excesses of his followers here; but as these were the direct results of his pernicious teachings, all the people here who do not sympathize with him hold him responsible for them, and, I think, justly.

"But to go back to my story. The Free Lovers increased here very rapidly. They bought a farm adjoining the village, and commenced to cultivate it. These heights offer very great inducements to agriculture. The lake breeze which sweeps over them keeps them almost entirely free from frost, and we raise some of the finest fruits here that are to be found in

the Union. The farm purchased by the Free Lovers was an excellent piece of land, and they worked it faithfully. They encouraged no idlers. They managed to get possession of the only hotel in the place, which, we thought, gave them a decided advantage in their efforts to increase their numbers. We had no occasion to complain of them in their dealings with us, for I am bound to confess they were honest in their business relations and faithful to their contracts. They labored under a very great disadvantage in being short of money, but endeavored to make up their deficiency by hard work. Some of them were men of ability. The most of them were Spiritualists; for Spiritualism and Free Love go hand in hand, and the leaders are now amongst the most prominent Spiritualists of the day."

"How did the old residents of the village regard the rapid increase of this strange sect?"

"At first we paid but little attention to them. We were glad to see the land in the hands of industrious and energetic workers, and had no idea of the real character of these people. As we began to understand their ideas, we were indignant, but thought it best to laugh at them. Some of our young men may even have appeared to sympathize with them; but if they did, it was only because they wanted a lark with the women. It was not long, however, before the differences between us became so great and so bitter that no decent person could uphold the Free Lovers, even for the fun of it. We began to be alarmed, sir, at having in our midst a class of people,

already numerous, and growing faster than we, who had the shamelessness to advocate the entire overthrow of the marriage relation. They declared, in their newspapers and their public speeches, that it was a sin for a man and woman to live together as husband and wife, if they could not do so without quarrelling and in absolute peace. They said it was not necessary for people to be married by a preacher or squire, but that, when men and women fancied each other, they had a perfect right to live together until they got tired of each other, when they ought to separate, and find other and more congenial companions. They didn't hesitate to tell us, sir, that a man and woman living together in open adultery were as pure and virtuous as we who had been married in church. Marriage, they said, was a fraud, and the cause of all the unhappiness in the world, and we were great fools for clinging to it. This we considered a dangerous doctrine, and we naturally looked down upon those who professed it as a dirty set. We did not regard it as liable to do us old people any harm, for we thought we had discretion enough to prefer morality to vice; but we had children, sons and daughters, in whose hearing these infernal principles were enunciated, and we wished to save them from pollution until they were old enough to think for themselves. Besides—for I must own it—it did anger us to be told that our wives and daughters, our mothers and sisters, whose goodness, modesty, and purity we valued more than our own lives, were no better than a parcel of common women.

"Perhaps, if they had confined themselves to principles, we should have let them alone, and trusted to time to cure the evil. But they were not satisfied to hold their own opinions about matters of this kind. They kept trying to force them upon us, and kept up such a noise in the world, that the people of the entire Union began to look upon Berlin Heights as the hot-bed of immorality, and to regard every man and woman in the village as devoted to the practise of Free Love. Why, sir, we couldn't go to Sandusky or Cleveland, or anywhere in the country—we, who were decent men and women, and totally opposed to the vile doctrine—without being stared at as Free Lovers. It was outrageous. We didn't deserve it, and we were not willing to submit to it.

"In a little while matters came to a crisis. There are always in this country a plenty of men and women who, being unhappily married, are anxious to escape from their claims, and others who think that the destruction of marriage will give them greater license than is possible in the present state of affairs. Such people were in active sympathy with the Free Lovers of our village, and many of them came here to attend the conventions held here. These people seemed to regard the village as their own property. They paid no more attention to Sunday than to any other day. They gave balls on the Lord's day at the hotel, had public dinners, speech-makings, and merry-makings there on that day, and, in short, did every thing they could to outrage our feelings. When some of us undertook to remonstrate with them, they said

ARRIVAL OF A RECRUIT AT THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

it was a free country, and that they would do as they pleased. They had as much right to the village as we, and they would permit no interference.

"This was not all, however. We had every reason to suspect them of immoral practices. We had heard their teachings—that men and women were justified in living together in the most intimate relations without the sanction of a marriage; we knew they held adultery to be no crime; we knew they taught that any man and woman wishing to indulge in sexual intercourse were justified in the act; and we were not silly enough to believe that people holding such views could be innocent in their practices. We observed many signs of unlawful intimacy between the men and women, such as caresses, kisses, tender glances, and long walks towards the woods about nightfall. Besides, there were some discontented fellows among them, who thought their wives too free with other men. We had no actual proof that we could put in evidence in a court of justice, but we were all satisfied that the hotel was a vast den of immorality.

"Matters now came to such a pass that the best men in the village and vicinity came to the conclusion that something must be done to rid us of this nuisance. We were convinced that to use brute force against them would be to do them more good than harm. In such a case, they would at once raise the cry of 'Persecution,' and draw to themselves a certain amount of sympathy, and our policy was to expose their doctrines and practices, and hold them up to

public scorn. So we determined to attack them through the press, which we felt sure would not dare to defend them.

"The leading man in the village was Mr. ———, a prominent member of the Baptist church. He had represented us once in the Legislature, and had held several County offices, and, as he was regarded as the ablest writer in the place, we considered him the proper man to head the movement against the Free Lovers. He was ready enough for this, for he despised them and their doctrines, and he wrote a number of very able articles against them, which he published in the *Sandusky Register*, the principal paper in the County. These articles were well written, and their object was to arouse the public sentiment against the Free Lovers, and in this they were successful. They fell like a bomb-shell into the Free-Love camp, and the leaders of that movement undertook to reply to them, but none of the papers would publish their articles. They then put their heads together to determine upon a course of action, and it seems that they came to the conclusion that our course would benefit them more than it would injure them. They seemed to have full faith in their doctrines, and openly avowed that all that was needed to spread them over the country was to make them known. They consulted the spirits as to the course they should pursue, and asserted that they were ordered to aid us in our efforts to expose them, for the reason that such a course would attract universal attention to them, and react overwhelmingly in their favor. They and their friends

wrote sensational articles for the papers, ridiculing and denouncing themselves. These articles came from various parts of the country, and were copied by most of the papers of the day. It was some time before we could discover the authors of these communications, for they kept their secret very well for a while; but at last they thought the joke too good to be kept quiet, and were loud in their boasts of getting gratuitous advertising out of the papers which opposed their doctrines. They victimized the New York *Herald* and *Tribune* badly in this way. The articles in the latter paper were so ingeniously written, that, while they appeared to denounce Free Love, they were really a defence of it. It was a shrewd trick upon their part, and it must be confessed that they succeeded in neutralizing our plan of operations to a very great extent.

"We now resorted to another plan. We called an indignation-meeting at the Presbyterian church, and enjoined it as a duty upon every lover of morality to attend. When the time for the meeting came, the house was full, and we congratulated ourselves that we should now have a plain, outspoken denunciation of the Free-Love business by the best men in the County. In point of attendance the meeting was a success. We had the best men of the County present, and a plenty of them; but the Free Lovers were there in force also, and, when our speakers commenced to denounce them, they asked leave to reply. We foolishly gave them permission, because we wanted to see fair play, and were unwilling to take any unfair

advantage of them. We paid a good price for our generosity, however. The meeting was a failure—a fizzle, as we say here. It lasted for three hours, and degenerated into a spiteful discussion of the Free-Love question. We were completely outwitted by the tactics of our opponents, and accomplished nothing. Our adversaries, on the other hand, gained a certain sort of triumph, and I assure you they crowed loudly over us. They declared we had tried to find grounds for a denunciation of them, and had failed, and they published this statement all over the country. After this they threw off all restraint, and made it a point to desecrate Sunday in every way they could, in order to show their contempt for us. At the same time, the reports of their immorality became more frequent and more circumstantial. Matters were dreadfully suspicious, but we had no positive proofs against them. They kept their own counsel, and never betrayed each other. When we questioned them as to the truth of the reports concerning them, they either denied them outright, or laughed, shrugged their shoulders, and said nothing.

"About this time they took steps for the establishment of a Free-Love newspaper in the village. One John Patterson, a writer of ability and force, was publishing a paper called the *Social Revolutionist* at Greenville, in Darke County, in this State. The Free-Love party here began to negotiate with him for the removal of his office to this place, and he, being in full sympathy with the movement, agreed to do so. In a short while he was established and at work here.

His paper was regarded as the organ of the Free-Love party in the West. I use the term 'party' as embracing all who sympathized with the movement. The war against marriage and domestic life was now continued with greater fury. The Free Lovers, encouraged by their successes, threw off restraint. Their paper was filled with denunciations of the marriage system, and advanced the most abominable ideas. For a while we had to endure it, because they clothed their attacks in reasonably decent language, but at length they threw off the mask. Men corrupt at heart cannot always act with decency. Their real natures will sometimes show themselves. One morning the *Social Revolutionist* published an article which put an end to our patience. The article was grossly indecent, and stated the doctrines of the party in their lowest and most revolting form. All restraint was thrown aside, and it was plainly stated that the object of the movement was the gratification of the animal passions of the members. The language of the article was utterly unfit for a brothel, and was such as I do not care to repeat to you literally.

"Up to this time our people had been divided as to the best means of getting rid of the Free Lovers. Some of us were for driving them out by force, others for letting them alone and allowing the movement to die out of its own accord. This article disgusted even the friends of toleration, and, after this, not a voice was heard in opposition to our resolve to compel the wretches to quit the place. We made no secret of our determination, and it at once became

known to the opposite party. They tried to smooth matters over by saying that the article was false in its statements, and was written by an opponent for the purpose of injuring them. We didn't believe them, and we told them so. It was not likely that an adversary could succeed in deceiving the shrewd men who controlled the paper, and secure in it the publication of an article calculated to injure them. No; we were satisfied that the article was a genuine expression of their sentiments, and we were not to be turned form our purpose by their explanations. Men who were lost to decency would not hesitate to lie. Falsehood, indeed, would be their first resort upon finding themselves in trouble.

"We called another indignation-meeting in the village, which was attended by large numbers of persons from all parts of the surrounding country. We had learned a lesson from our first meeting, and this time refused to allow any of the Free-Love party to say any thing at the meeting. Barry tried very hard to get a hearing, but we hissed and hooted him down. We wanted no explanations. The offences of these people admitted of none, and we wanted no more of their talk. We adopted a preamble and set of resolutions setting forth our grievances and the infamous course pursued by our opponents, and requesting them to leave the County. Some of us were in favor of driving them out at once, but others—and they had the majority—wished to endeavor to get rid of them by peaceful means. A committee was appointed, who waited upon the leaders of the other party, and in-

formed them that it was the desire of all decent people in the County that they should leave it. Some of us (I was among the number) who favored force accompanied the request of the committee with the warning that we would drive them out if they did not go peaceably. In return, they notified us that they would not leave willingly, and would meet force with force. At the same time, it was known that they were putting their printing-office and hotel in a state of defence, and purchasing fire-arms.

There was now every prospect of a serious collision in the village; for, though the friends of peaceful measures were in the majority, there were quite a number of us who were anxious to strike such a blow as would rid us of the nuisance at once and forever. In this state of feeling, it required all the influence of our friends to restrain us. It was well that they did so; for, had the blow been struck, we should have shown the wretches no mercy.

"We now resorted to the law. Several of our people went up to Sandusky and had warrants taken out for the arrest of the most prominent of the Free Lovers. These warrants were based on charges of immoral proceedings in violation of the laws of the State, which we brought against them. They were entrusted to the police of Sandusky for execution, and we stood ready to put down any resistance to the officers of the law. The constables came down to the village quietly, and, before our adversaries were fairly aware of their purpose, they had arrested some twenty-five or thirty men and women. They put them on

the cars and took them to Sandusky, a number of us following to see the result of the affair. We expected they would be confined in jail; but the Mayor, before whom they were taken, admitted them to bail, and had them lodged at the hotel at the expense of the city. The trial lasted a week, and was a complete farce. We had no witnesses to support our charges, and had relied upon compelling Frank Barry and others to testify to the truth of the facts we wished to establish; but we were badly beaten. Of course, we could not compel any one to admit any thing damaging to himself or herself, and all professed to be totally ignorant of the conduct of the others. They declared that if such irregularities as were charged upon them existed, it was without their knowledge. Their principles, they said, required them to refrain from meddling with other people's affairs. Each one found it as much as he or she could do to attend to his or her individual concerns. They had no time for gossip or eavesdropping. They baffled us in this way at every point. We were fully persuaded that they were acting in accordance with a preconcerted plan, and that they were not telling the truth; but we could bring forward nothing in evidence, nor could we extort a single admission from them. They beat us badly, and, at the close of a week, the case was dismissed, and they were allowed to return to their homes. You may be sure they exulted over us. The truth is, we had damaged our side badly by our foolishness. They had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain, by such a ventilation of their doctrines as

this trial brought about. We had failed to establish our charges. A court of justice had acquitted them, and they had gained a moral advantage over us. They were jubilant, and we very sore, over our defeat.

"The friends of peaceful measures were now at their wits' ends. They had exhausted all the means at their disposal, and those of us who favored force resolved to do a little on our own account towards ridding the place of the wretches. Mob violence is always wrong, and that to which we hot-heads resorted was no exception to the rule. We damaged our cause by it, and created a certain amount of sympathy for the Free Lovers. We annoyed them in every conceivable way, and did all in our power to make the place too hot to hold them. The Free Lovers kept on in their old habits, and sent their newspaper and printed documents to all parts of the country.

"One day, Frank Barry was driving along in his wagon to the Post-Office with a load of his Free-Love documents for the mails. He was totally unapprehensive of harm, and was driving at a moderate pace. We knew his habit of sending his documents off in this way, and we were determined to put a stop to it. Upon this occasion about twenty of us, men and women—for our women were by far the bitterest enemies the Free Lovers had—waylaid him, and, stopping his horse, made him get out of his wagon and surrender his documents. There must have been about four bushels of them. We had matches and shavings on hand, and we piled the latter in the road and emptied the documents on top of them. Then

we set fire to them, and in a few minutes they were in a bright blaze. Barry stood by without moving a muscle or uttering a word, and saw his precious documents reduced to ashes. We gave him to understand that we would serve him in the same way if he did not alter his course, and then let him go home. I could hardly recall all the annoyances we heaped upon these people if I were to try. Let it be sufficient to say, that we persecuted them in every possible way short of inflicting bodily injury upon them.

"We overshot our mark, sir, and made friends instead of enemies for them. As I have told you, a large number of our people were opposed to violence. They now began to condemn us as severely as they did the party we opposed. When the next township election came on, the Free-Love question was made the principal issue. Those of us who favored energetic means were able to control the regular ticket, and we secured the nomination of men pledged to expel our opponents from the County. The Free Lovers and the friends of toleration joined hands in this canvass, and succeeded in electing their ticket. Their candidates were pledged to protect the Free Lovers as long as they could not be convicted of violating any law. The fact is, we had disgusted our own friends by our violence, and they turned against us and supported Free Love. This was a hard blow to us, and we confessed ourselves beaten, and gave up the struggle.

"The Free Lovers had learned wisdom from their past experience. They were now endorsed by a very

strong party which had once endeavored to drive them out, and they had every cause for exultation; but, to our surprise, they exhibited very great moderation. They relinquished none of their doctrines and abandoned none of their ways of living, but conducted themselves with more discretion than they had ever done, well knowing, I suppose, that those who had gone so far in their opposition to them, would leave no effort untried to detect their secret practices.

"Just about this time, when they were exerting themselves to ward off public censure by showing a life outwardly correct, and closing all the means by which outsiders could obtain an insight into their inner workings, a circumstance happened which once more turned the tide of public opinion against them. They did not live in one family, like the Oneida Community, or in a phalanx, like the Fourierites, but were scattered about in small fruit-farms along one side of the village, and for some distance back into the country. In the summer of 1858, a small group of the most advanced members of the sect took a farm about a mile beyond the village, and lived there together. They were about equally divided as to sex, and were regarded by us as the most honest of their set. Their friends in the village did not look upon them with much favor, declaring that their conduct, which was simply in accordance with their principles, was calculated to bring the sect into disrepute. Hard stories were told of this set of Free Lovers, but they were indignantly denied; and as we had no proof against

them, we could do no more than express our disbelief of their denials.

"One day a neighbor of mine, having missed his cow, set off in search of her. His route led him through the farm of the people I am speaking of, and close by a pretty stream which ran through the place. Not far from the dwelling, this creek was so completely enclosed and shaded by the trees and bushes as to be as private and secluded as a bath-room. The shade was so thick that it was delightfully cool even on the hottest day; and as the water was clear and tolerably deep, no better place for bathing could be found in the country. My neighbor passed within fifty yards of it, and, as he went by, was attracted by the sound of voices and the splashing of water. It was evident that a party of bathers were enjoying the sport and the place. My neighbor listened again, and this time heard the voices of women as well as of men. Matters were getting interesting, he thought, and he crept cautiously and noiselessly through the bushes till he reached a spot from which he could look down upon the bathers, himself unseen by them. The sight that met his eyes astonished him, bad as he had believed these people to be. About a dozen or more men and women—all that lived on the farm—were in the water together, and all as naked as when they came into the world. How long they had been in the water before my neighbor saw them, he could not say, but he declared that they were there for nearly an hour after his arrival, as he remained in his hiding-place, watching them until the last one left the

spot. You can easily imagine the motive which led a dozen men and women to make such a shameless exhibition of themselves; and you can also understand what took place before they left the spot. It was a scene of the grossest indecency, and, as you may suppose, my neighbor was thoroughly disgusted.

"After he got home, he came to me and told me of all he had seen, and we agreed to go back the next day, and take two other persons with us, in the hope of getting four witnesses against them. If my friend had held his tongue, the plan might have been successful, and we might have made a case for the courts; but the secret was too heavy for him. He took the whole village into his confidence, and, by the next day, every Free Lover in the place was fully informed of his adventure, and of the trap we had laid for them. All of them, and many of our own people, pitched into my poor friend with a vigor that startled him, and declared that, in seeking to see what he regarded as impure and indecent, he was even more to blame than the guilty actors in the affair. Still, the whole village was indignant at the performance of the bathers. The majority of the Free-Love party professed the greatest disgust at the affair. They held an indignation-meeting, and denounced the 'bad taste' and 'bad policy' of the bathers; who, by the way, did not deny the affair, but claimed that it was intended as a practical demonstration of the state of 'Eden innocence' in which they lived.

"Although the majority of the Free Lovers professed great indignation at the performances of the

'Eden Group,' as they came to be called, they did so in such a manner as to satisfy us that they were at heart in sympathy with them, and were really one with them in all things save discretion. They deceived no one, however, and the indignation which my friend's discovery aroused made the village more of a unit upon this question than it had ever been before. For a while it seemed that we were at length on the eve of getting rid of these troublesome people. Time, however, had taught us wisdom, and we were now all unanimously of the opinion that a resort to violence would not do; so we united in an address or petition to the Free Lovers, requesting them to leave. This request was couched in mild and persuasive terms—entirely too mild, I thought—and was as ineffectual as our other efforts. We not only requested the 'Eden Group' to leave, but extended the invitation to the entire Society. We wanted none of them to remain behind. They peremptorily refused to do as we desired them. If we wanted to separate from them, they said, we could leave the village ourselves, and they were perfectly willing that we should go; but, having bought their lands and made themselves homes here, they intended to remain. No petitions, addresses, or resolutions on our part could shake their determination. If we tried force, they would resist us. They informed us that they were armed and prepared for war, if it must come, but would only resort to violence in case we began the struggle. They knew very well that they were safe in making this assertion, as only a very small number of us were

now willing to resort to force. C. M. Overton, who was one of their best writers, published a pamphlet in reply to our address to them. It was well written and plausible in its statements, and was scattered broadcast through the County. It had the effect of quieting the active opposition of the respectable people of Erie County.

"This was eleven years ago, and since then we have made no effort to get rid of our disagreeable neighbors. The fact is, they tired us out by their perseverance. We have contented ourselves with an expression of our unqualified dissent from their views, and a denunciation of them whenever opportunity offered, but have done no more. Gradually all open hostility between us died out, and we agreed to accept the situation, and endure what we could not cure. We fell into trading with them, and a stranger would have taken us for one people. But we have never ceased to protest against their presence here, and would be glad to see the last one of them go away.

"Our policy of non-interference was more successful than our other efforts. Soon after its adoption on our part had taken from the Free Lovers that community of interests which a present danger always imparts, quarrels and dissensions broke out amongst them. Their Spiritualist doctrine of the sovereignty of each individual over his own acts, prevented them from acknowledging a common authority in any thing. Each man was his own master, each woman her own mistress. Each had an entirely distinct doctrine

which he wished to see adopted by all the others. The amount of confusion and discord which prevailed in a few years almost passes belief. Barry left the place in sorrow, as he said, his authority and influence as prophet of the new dispensation entirely gone. His visions of promiscuity came to nought, and he shook off the dust of the place from his feet. Overton became disgusted with the movement, and abandoned it. He is living in Vineland, New Jersey, I believe; but what he is doing, I cannot say. I notice his contributions occasionally in the New York *Universe*, and judge from them that he has not lost his old grudge against Barry. One by one the best of them went away, despairing of ever seeing their social millennium, and disgusted with their own doctrines. The majority of them have sought refuge in Spiritualism pure and simple, and some of them have married. A few of them—perhaps fifty in all—still live in the neighborhood, but they are very quiet and inoffensive. They hold to their old doctrines, but I believe their lives are correct. Of late years they have made little or no effort to propagate their doctrines; but what they will do now that the woman suffrage and anti-marriage parties are acquiring such strength, is, of course, impossible to say."

"Then you regard their experiment here as a failure?"

"Unquestionably. As long as our hostility to them threatened them with danger, they were united and harmonious; but as soon as we left them to themselves, they got to quarrelling, and came to grief. As

I have told you, all the prominent members of the party have left the place."

Such is the story of the Berlin Heights Free-Love Movement, as the reader may hear it told should his curiosity lead him to seek information concerning it on the spot. The few professors of the doctrine that remain to-day in the village conduct their advocacy of it through the Spiritualist Free-Love journals published in other parts of the country. They still cherish the hope that they will one day see their abominable ideas prevail throughout the land, but, being few in number, are compelled, by the pressure of public opinion on every side of them, to lead lives of outward decency, and to be very moderate and reserved in the expression of their real sentiments. Outwardly their lives are correct, but their influence is pernicious, and is rendered all the more so by the difference which exists between their lives and their doctrines. In common with all the other professors of Free Love, they hail the woman-suffrage movement as the dawning of that socialist millennium for which they have been waiting so long. Marriage stands as a great barrier between that longed-for reign of "passional attraction" and the present. Break down that, they say, and the kingdom of Free Love will come. Those who toiled hardest for the "movement" are gone from Berlin Heights; but they are more dangerous to society than if they were all still at that place. Scattered over the country and operating from different bases, yet all working for one common end—the inauguration of a state of society in which nothing

shall stand between them and the gratification of their lusts—they command larger audiences and have more extended fields of operations. Force cannot be used against them, but there is a species of moral resistance, within the reach of every one, which should be most vigorously and unceasingly directed against them.

MODERN TIMES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MODERN TIMES.

Josiah Warren and his Scheme of Equitable Commerce.—The Settlement of Modern Times.—The Time Store and its Operations.—A Failure.—Enunciation of the Principle of Individual Sovereignty.—A Remarkable State of Society.—Statement by a Resident.—The Individual Sovereigns.—Absolute Freedom, and what it Brought with it.—A Singular Community.—The Story of Miss Smith.—Her Aptitude in Learning the Principles of the Place.—Her Subsequent Experience.—Too Much Individual Sovereignty in the Social Relations.—Remarks of a Veteran Free Lover.—His Views as to Negro Slavery and Marriage Slavery.—All the Old Abolitionists for Breaking Down Marriage.—The Millennium Coming.—His Ideas of Freedom for Woman.—Present Condition of Sentiment at Modern Times.—Marriage not Insisted upon.—Individual Sovereignty in Practical Operation.—The Beauty of Charity.—How Disagreeable Persons are Gotten Rid of.—Not a Religious Community.—No Use for Churches.—A Specimen Reformer.—What it must Come to at Modern Times.

Among the most prominent of the fanatics who have undertaken to reorganize society in America was Josiah Warren. He makes his first appearance in the history of Socialism in this country in connection with Owen's Community at New Harmony, and, while there, conceived a peculiar plan of conducting the mercantile operations of the country, to which he gave the name of "Equitable Commerce." He made several attempts to carry out his ideas in Ohio and in Indiana, but failing in each place, removed to New

York, and founded a settlement on Long Island, about forty-two miles east of Brooklyn, which he called "Modern Times." Having published his plan of "Equitable Commerce," he soon drew to him a number of disciples, male and female, the majority of whom were from New England, and his settlement at once became a thriving village.

Near the centre of the village a large building was erected, called the "Time Store." A writer who saw it gives the following account of its operations:

"A portion of a room was divided off by a lattice-work, in which were many racks and shelves containing a variety of small articles. In the centre of this lattice an opening was left, through which the storekeeper could hand goods and take pay. On the wall at the back of the storekeeper and facing the customer, hung a clock, and underneath it a dial. In other parts of the room were various articles, such as molasses, corn, buckets, drygoods, &c. There was a board hanging on the wall, conspicuous enough for all persons to see, on which were placed the bills that had been paid to wholesale merchants for all the articles in the store; also the orders of individuals for various things.

"I entered the store one day, and, walking up to the wicket, requested the storekeeper to serve me with some glue. I was immediately asked if I had a 'Labor-Note;' and on my saying 'No,' I was told that I must get some one's note. My object in going there was to inquire if Mr. Warren would exchange labor with me; but this abrupt reception scared me,

and I hastily departed. However, upon my becoming further acquainted with Mr. Warren, we exchanged labor-notes, and I traded a little at the Time Store in the following manner:

"I made or procured a written labor-note, promising so many hours' labor at so much per hour. Mr. Warren had similar labor-notes. I went to the Time Store with my note and my cash, and informed the keeper that I wanted, for instance, a few yards of cotton cloth. As soon as he commenced conversation or business with me, he set the dial which was under the clock, and marked the *time*. He then attended to me, giving me what I wanted, and in return taking from me as much cash as he paid for the article to the wholesale merchant, and as much time out of my labor-note as he spent for me, according to the dial, in the sale of the article. I believe five per cent. was added to the cash cost, to pay rent and cover incidental expenses. The change for my labor-notes was in small tickets representing time by the five, ten, or fifteen minutes; so that, if I presented a note representing an hour's labor, and he had been occupied only ten minutes in serving me, he would have to give me fifty minutes in change. I have seen Mr. Warren with a large bundle of these notes, representing various kinds and quantities of labor. Each individual who gave a note, affixed his or her price per hour for labor. Women charged as high, or nearly as high, as men; and sometimes unskilful hands overrated their services. I knew an instance where an individual issued too many of his notes, and they became depre-

ciated in value. I was informed that these notes were refused at the Time Store. It was supposed that public opinion would regulate these things, and I have no doubt that, in time, it would. In this experiment Mr. Warren said he had demonstrated as much as he intended. But I heard him complain of the difficulties he had to contend with, especially of the want of common honesty."

This Utopian scheme of Commerce came to a speedy end. "It wouldn't work," said a veteran of Modern Times to the writer, not long since. "People did not get a fair equivalent for their labor, and Mr. Warren failed to pay expenses. We tried it fairly, but it was a failure."

Having failed to regulate commerce, the philosophers of Modern Times undertook to regulate the domestic relations. There now appeared in the village Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews and Dr. Thomas L. Nichols, both men of literary ability. They were opposed to the system of Christian marriage, and amongst the earliest of those who have labored so energetically for its destruction. In connection with Warren (it does not appear which was the originator of the doctrine), they established the doctrine of "Individual Sovereignty." This doctrine, reduced to practice, means that an individual may do as he pleases in all things, without being responsible to any one. It abolishes all law, all restraints of every kind, and establishes the rule of the individual will. "With regard to mere difference of opinion," says Warren, "in taste, convenience, economy, equality, or even

right and wrong, good and bad, sanity and insanity, all must be left to the supreme decision of each *individual*, whenever he can take on himself the *cost* of his decisions; which he cannot do while his interests or movements are united or combined with others."

The leaders of Modern Times began an organized system of Free Love, and, for the purpose of spreading their doctrines throughout the country, Nichols, who was an hydropathic doctor, published a work (in 1853) entitled "Esoteric Anthropology," and issued his printed catalogue of names for the reciprocal use of affinity-hunters all over the country; "whereby," says Noyes, "he inaugurated the system of 'Free Love,' or individual sovereignty in sexual intercourse, that prevailed among the Spiritualists."

The reader may imagine the condition of a state of society in which men and women know no law but their own wills. Modern Times soon became a stench in the nostrils of all lovers of morality. Free Love blossomed as a rose and drew considerable reinforcements from New England, for whose people the doctrine appears to have a peculiar fascination. The following "conversation between a resident and a reporter" took place about eighteen years ago, and will serve to give the reader some idea of the place at that time:

"We are not Fourierites. We do not believe in association. Association will have to answer for many of the evils with which mankind are now afflicted. We are not Communists; we are not Mormons; we are not Non-Resistants. If a man steals my prop-

erty or injures me, I will take good care to make myself square with him. We are Protestants; we are Liberals. We believe in the *sovereignty of the individual.* We protest against all laws which interfere with *individual rights;* hence we are Protestants. We believe in perfect liberty of will and action; hence we are Liberals. We have no compacts with each other, save the compact of individual happiness; and we hold that every man and every woman has a perfect and inalienable right to do and perform, all and singular, just exactly as he or she may choose, now and hereafter. But, gentlemen, this liberty to act must only be exercised at the *entire cost* of the individuals so acting. They have no right to tax the Community for the consequences of their deeds."

"Then you go back to nearly the first principles of government, and acknowledge the necessity of some controlling power other than the individual will?"

"Not much—not much. In the present depraved state of society generally, we, few in numbers, are forced by circumstances into courses of action not precisely compatible with our principles or with the intent of our organization; thus: we are only a colony; we cannot produce all which we consume, and many of our members are forced to go out into the world to earn what people call 'money,' so that we may purchase our groceries, &c. We are mostly mechanics—Eastern men. There is not yet a sufficient home demand for our labor to give constant employment to all. When we increase in numerical strength, our

tinsmiths and shoemakers and hatters and artisans of that grade will not only find work at home, but will manufacture goods for sale. That will bring us money. We shall establish a Labor Exchange, so that if my neighbor, the blacksmith, wants my assistance, and I, in turn, desire his services, there will be a scale to fix the terms of the exchange."

"But this would disturb individual sovereignty."

"I don't see it. No one would be *forced* to barter his labor for another's. If parties don't like the terms, they can make their own. There are three acres of corn across the way; it is good corn—a good crop; it is mine. You see that man now at work in the field, cutting and stacking it? His work as a farmer is not so valuable as mine as a mason. We exchange, and it is a mutual benefit. Corn is just as good a measure of value as coin. You should read the pamphlet we are getting out. It will come cheap. Andrews has published an excellent work on the subject of Individual Sovereignty."

"Have you any schools?"

"Schools? Ah, we only have a sort of primary affair for small children. It is supported by individual subscription. Each parent pays his proportion."

"How about women?"

"Well, in regard to the ladies, we let them do about as they please, and they generally please to do about right. Yes, *they* like the idea of Individual Sovereignty. We give them plenty of amusement; we have social parties, music, dancing, and other sports. They are not all Bloomers; they wear such

dresses as suit the individual taste, provided they can get them."

"And the *breeches*, sometimes, I suppose?"

"Certainly; they can *wear the breeches*, if they choose."

"Do you hold to marriage?"

"Oh, marriage! Well, folks ask no questions in regard to *that* among us. We, or at least some of us, do not believe in life-partnerships, when the parties cannot live happily. Every person here is supposed to know his or her interests best. We don't interfere; there is no eavesdropping or prying behind the curtain. Those are good members of society who are industrious, and mind their own business. The individual is sovereign and independent, and all laws tending to restrict the liberty he or she should enjoy, are founded in error, and should not be regarded."

The village lay a few hundred yards to the south of the Long Island Railway, and was laid off upon a plan of magnificent distances. Broad, straight streets intersected each other at right angles, and were planted with shade and fruit-trees. The land was good, the country level, or gently rolling, and the ocean, only four miles distant to the southward, swept the island with its cooling and invigorating breezes. The dwellings were built far apart from each other, in order to secure the utmost privacy to each family, and were all surrounded by large yards and gardens. The dwellings were comfortable, as a rule, but were prim in appearance and lacking in taste. Still, the sovereigns were satisfied with their new home, and even

cherished the belief that their grain of mustard-seed would one day become a vast tree, under which many thousands would find shelter from the customs of the world.

Here gathered the queerest company of men and women ever seen in America. There were shoemakers, blacksmiths, mechanics, farmers, and schoolmasters, strong-minded women, discontented wives, spinsters of uncertain age, disciples of Amelia Bloomer, and seekers after an affinity, the majority from New England, and a few from Ohio. In their own eyes they were the salt of the earth. What need had they of marriage? The few who ventured to honor that good old custom were regarded as weak-minded individuals not yet fully prepared to enjoy sovereignty. They had no use for religion. It was worse to them than the heathen mythology. The Bible they cast aside as an antiquated book of fables. It might do for people in the world who needed laws to govern their weak natures; but for these strong, great, philosophic souls, who had risen to such a state of excellence that they had become masters and mistresses of themselves, it was useless. Moreover, it enjoined marriage as the holiest relation of the sexes. Therefore it must be discarded, or marriage must be required at Modern Times.

Having discarded both law and religion, as rags and shreds of superstition, the sovereigns set to work to carry out the scheme with which they had replaced these principles. No man had a right to intrude into his neighbor's house; for in this home of progressive

spirits, conduct was held to have the same rights as opinion. "What have you to do with me or mine?" asked the sovereign. "Inside my own door I am lord and king. What if I take a dozen wives? How these ladies choose to live, is for themselves, and not for you, to say. What business have you to take offence because they do not live according to your law?" In Modern Times such questions were sure to confound the meddler. A woman who was fair and a man who was discreet, had nothing to fear from the moral and religious passions of his fellow-settlers. No one asked inconvenient questions. Men and women came together as man and wife without the sanction of either magistrate or parson, and no one ever frowned upon them. "They had a right to do so," said their neighbors, "and we must receive them as friends and equals." The truth was, that very few couples in Modern Times could boast the sanction of a legal marriage, and it behooved them to hold their tongues. Women separated from their companions, and the next week, or the next day, perhaps, were living in similar relations with other men, but no one censured them. Men coolly turned their partners adrift and took others younger or fairer, but not a word was said. It was "all right." The public sentiment of the place approved it. By and by it began to be seen that the temporary unions which were the rule in Modern Times were becoming of shorter duration. Men and women were beginning to indulge their fancies for change with greater freedom. The anti-marriage principle was working out its inevitable course.

Among the female sovereigns was a woman of perhaps thirty, whom I shall call Miss Smith. She was of medium size, a little inclined to stoutness, and of robust and vigorous constitution. She was a bright brunette, and one of the best-looking women in the place. The people of the village never gossipped, but one or two confidentially whispered to each other that she was possessed of an extraordinarily strong temper. That she was a New England woman, all in the place knew; but of the rest of her history before her appearance at Modern Times they were ignorant. She came to the village, she said, to investigate the subjects of Individual Sovereignty and Spiritual Affinities, and was received as a boarder in the dwelling of a middle-aged man and a bachelor. In ordinary society such a procedure would have created unending scandal; but at Modern Times it was regarded as right and proper, and no questions were asked. Miss Smith and her bachelor host were among the most popular persons in the place, and all the neighbors applauded the lady's zeal in seeking to comprehend their peculiar ideas. It was astonishing to witness the fidelity with which teacher and pupil applied themselves to the task. The winter passed away, and when the Spring came, it was found that Miss Smith had thoroughly learned the peculiar doctrine of the place, as she became the mother of a child, which lived but a few days. She was now received into full fellowship by the sovereigns, but her studies were suddenly interrupted by a quarrel with her teacher, and she abruptly left his house, and engaged board at

the house of a sovereign whose "lady" had just left him. She stayed there just one month, and then found another teacher. Whether it was her fiery temper, or some fault in her partners, this damsel could not content herself with any single teacher, and in the short space of eight months after she gave proof of such extraordinary proficiency in the peculiar teachings of the place, had not less than nine different teachers. With the last, she contented herself for nearly a year, and then both left the village and removed to parts unknown.

Miss Smith was not a solitary specimen. There were a number of women living with men, in open adultery, the world said—in temporary unions, the sovereigns said. Partners were changed with frequency, people acting in this respect under the baleful influence of their own fierce passions. Men found that they could not reckon with certainty upon retaining the love of any woman; and women found that they had no guarantee that they would not be abandoned at any moment. Nothing was certain in this strange and abominable place. No one could be sure of the fidelity of a partner to the temporary contract. Men were constantly seeking to gain the affections of their neighbors' wives, and with success, too. Cases of domestic infidelity were becoming very common, and, as a matter of course, were producing trouble on every side. Even individual sovereigns could not endure this direct result of their own teachings, and a series of troubles set in which resulted in the removal of the greater part of the original inhabitants.

"They are nearly all gone, the original settlers," said the veteran from whom I sought information concerning the place. "I was one of the first to come here, but I was only a looker-on when the Free-Love movement began. I didn't believe in marriage as practised in the world, and I don't believe in it now; but still, they carried the Free-Love doctrine a little too far here to suit me, and I held aloof from it. It was a sad state of affairs that prevailed at this time, and it did seem that our experiment was going to fail, just as our Equitable Commerce had done."

"If you did not sympathize with the excesses of that time, why didn't you leave the place?" I asked.

"Because I owned land here that I wished to retain," he answered, "and because I had an abiding faith in the fundamental principles of our cause. I felt sure that, whatever failures might surround the present, an ultimate triumph lay beyond them all, and I held on. Besides, I had a talk with Mr. P. soon after this, that consoled and encouraged me very greatly. You see, I was one of the original Abolitionists—one of the very first to attack chattel slavery. Mr. P., as you perhaps know, was one of the leaders of that movement. I knew him slightly, and met him just about this time, as I was coming home from Boston. 'Mr. P.,' said I, 'why is it that a man of your abilities, holding the views you do, should hesitate to attack the slavery of marriage?' 'One thing at a time, my dear friend,' said he; 'one thing at a time. Now, I am devoting all my energies to the task of destroying negro slavery in the South. I do

not expect to live to see the emancipation of the blacks, but if I do, mark me, you will see me advocating the cause of woman, and struggling to free her from the slavery into which marriage has plunged her, and you will see all the old Abolitionists working with me. The time for that has not come yet. We must free the negroes first, then women. If I were to advocate now the views you and I hold, the people would crucify me. They are not ready for them yet. Let us free the blacks first; then we will break the bonds of woman.' That remark cheered me very greatly, and made me willing to wait."

"But are all the Abolitionists engaged in the crusade against marriage?" I asked.

"All the most prominent," he answered. Then he added, with a grim smile, "All the fanatics, as we were once called. And we are gaining strength daily —so decidedly, indeed, that monogamic marriage is doomed. I am surprised, though, he said, emphatically, "to find the cause so popular among the women of the present day, who are not open and avowed advocates of freedom in the sexual relation. Why, sir, woman suffrage is a very small affair—a very inconsiderable part of this great question. It is the stepping-stone only to the abolition of marriage, which must follow woman suffrage. Marriage, as it exists now, has so many charms for the average woman, who by her training is taught to regard Free Love with horror, that I am surprised to find her favoring any thing that must so surely lead to its destruction."

"Then why do you seek to destroy marriage, if it is best for the average woman?"

"I did not say it is best for any woman," he said, quickly. "I grant you there are some happy marriages. But the vast majority of unions are unhappy, and people would escape from them if they could."

"What do you propose to do, if successful?"

"Make woman free from her master. Give her the absolute right to choose the father of her child."

"Has not she the right to do so at present? Women only marry men of their choice." Then, seeing him indisposed to reply, I continued: "Perhaps you mean, that if she sees fit to give a separate father to each of her children, you would allow her to do so? There would be considerable freedom in that."

"Woman is the slave of man's lusts," he said, evading an answer to my question. "Maternity is forced upon her, whether she is willing for it or not."

"And, in order to remedy this, you would let her have a free rein for her lusts. You would hold out a direct encouragement to immorality on her part."

"We would make it possible for her at any moment to leave a husband she did not like, and take another whom she could love."

"Do such ideas prevail in this village?"

"Not to such an extent as in former years. The population of the village has been greatly, almost entirely, changed since I first came here. The present settlers are very different from the old ones. Still, you will find very great freedom of thought here upon all questions."

"Is the public sentiment of the place in favor of, or opposed to, marriage?"

"That is a question I find some difficulty in answering," he replied. "As I told you just now, we do not ask many questions of each other. We mind our own business. The majority of people living in the village are legally married. There may be some who are not; but, if so, their lives are outwardly so correct that we cannot charge them with any fault. Our people don't look on marriage as absolutely necessary. A man and a woman may meet in the cars in the morning, come here and buy a house and go to housekeeping in the afternoon, without ever having seen a clergyman or a magistrate, and, so long as they were quiet and peaceable, honest and industrious, no one here would say any thing against them. We should receive them as equals, and treat them with kindness and respect."

"Then the weight of public sentiment here is against marriage?" I said.

"From your point of view, yes. I should say, however, that we still hold the doctrine of Individual Sovereignty. It is that which has drawn here nearly every person who has come here, except those who were attracted by Warren's Equitable Commerce. I was one of the latter. We recognize every person's right to act as he pleases, so long as he does not harm his neighbor. A man might keep a whole seraglio here, and, if he and his wives held their peace, no one would say any thing in censure of them."

"Suppose a man and woman, residents of the place, should be detected in a scandalous intrigue, how would it affect their standing?"

"The husband, brother, or father of the woman would probably take vengeance on the man."

"But how would the people generally regard it?"

"If the woman's husband or relatives chose to pass the matter by, we should not feel that we had any right to meddle with it. We should ask no questions."

"How would it affect the woman's standing here? Would you receive her as the equal of the other women?"

"Certainly. We are not uncharitable in any thing. We do not regard or treat as a crime that which is merely a fault. The woman's error would be her own affair. Some of us might even think she had not committed even a fault; for the most advanced of us hold that the sexes should be free in their relations with each other. Many, again, would think she had been imprudent, and would be sorry she had done wrong; but it would not be right for any one to undertake to reprove her. You see, here is where the principle of the sovereignty of the individual steps in to protect us."

"Suppose this same woman should be detected in an intrigue with another man, and her relatives should not see fit to take vengeance upon him—which indeed they could hardly do in the case of a woman sinning so twice—would you see fit to censure her?"

"*I* should not," he answered. "I believe in entire freedom for woman. I do not think she sins in seeking the society of a man, provided she loves him; and I think she can love more than once, though I am

a bachelor, and can merely give you theories instead of experience in this respect. In the case you mention, some of us, perhaps many of us, would feel that she was doing very wrong; but we could not censure her, and be true to the principle of Individual Sovereignty."

"Suppose a woman of the town should take a house and ply her trade in your village; would you think she was doing wrong?"

"Unquestionably. Every body here would be of one opinion."

"Would you send her away? Could you send her away, and be true to your principles?"

"We should not *send* her away by force. We do not believe in unlimited sensuality or in licentiousness. When we wish to rid ourselves of unpleasant persons, we simply let them alone. We buy nothing of them, sell them nothing, exchange no words with them—in short, by establishing a complete system of non-intercourse with them, we show them unmistakably that they are not wanted here, and they usually go away of their own accord."

"Suppose such a person should refuse to leave?"

"Then we should continue to ignore her presence. It is not probable, however, that such a woman would ever establish herself here. She would starve. Even those of us whom you call Free Lovers would avoid her. Our relations with women, whether *legal* or *free*, are based upon love."

"Then you do not claim this as a Free-Love village now?"

"Certainly not. It did merit that name once, but it does not now."

"Do you mean to say that there are no Free Lovers here?"

"I am one, in your estimation," he said; "and there are others like me. Many of us—nearly all of us—are opposed to the present system of marriage. We are in favor of woman suffrage. Some of us are Spiritualists. The majority of the heads of families, as I have told you, are legally married. If there are any Free-Love practices going on, the parties concerned keep their own counsel, and the rest of us let them alone. We accord great liberty of thought and action to every body so long as he or she is honest, industrious, and peaceable. We mind our own business and ask no questions; and if accidents do happen, we don't talk about them. Men and women will seek each other everywhere, and perhaps they do so here."

"It would seem," said I, "that, by refraining from censure, by minding your own business so thoroughly, and by allowing every one such extreme liberty of thought and action, you offer a direct invitation to immorality; for you must know that it will prevail wherever the public sentiment does not denounce it."

"We get along very well in our own way," he said; "and perhaps, after all, I am a little in advance of my neighbors in my sentiments."

"Is this a religious Community?" I asked. "I have seen no church-building about the village."

"We apply the principle of Individual Sovereign-

ty to religious matters," he said, dryly. "If a man wants to go to church, there are churches in the neighborhood. He can go, or stay away, as he pleases. We don't think church-going necessary, but we ask no questions. You would call many of us infidels and atheists. We hold peculiar views upon this subject, and we carry our faith into our practice. If a man sees fit to work on Sunday, why, let him work. It's his own business, and nobody has any right to criticise his conduct."

"You are very liberal," I said.

"We are liberal!" he exclaimed, warmly. "We glory in our liberality. We are always on the watch for some new truth. No doctrine is too advanced for us. If we find a single grain of truth in a creed overflowing with error, we seize that truth and cherish it."

"Do you expect to see your warfare against marriage successful?"

"I am getting old," he answered, "and *I* may not see that day. But it will come. Our course is based upon a great radical truth, and must prevail. You know how long it took to break down slavery in the South; yet it was broken down, and, when it fell, people were ready for the result. It will take a much longer time to break down marriage, and to place woman in her true position; but it will be done, and the public mind will be ready for it when it does come."

He was a tall, gaunt, rugged man who thus addressed me. He was bronzed by the sun, his hands were hard and horny with toil, and his dress was

coarse and stained with dirt, for he had just come in from his little farm when we entered into conversation. His thin hair was sandy in color, and his baldness revealed a well-shaped head. His beard was as thin and straggling as his hair, and of the same color. He had the face of a fanatic. I never saw a countenance more thoroughly expressive of firmness, determination, and earnestness of purpose. Bad, depraved though his ideas were, he was sincere in his advocacy of them. He believed himself to be right, and he was prepared to follow his convictions to any extreme. He had, by his own confession, lived apart from the great world. He had travelled little, mixed little with men and still less with women, and had given himself up so thoroughly to the consideration of one subject, that he had become unfit to think upon it. He accepted theories as facts, and was content to receive the teachings of others without question. A bachelor, ignorant of married life, he was ready to lend his hand to the destruction of marriage. Equally ignorant of women, he was willing to undertake a total change of that which concerns the highest, noblest, and most delicate part of their nature. Thus, with all his sincerity, all his earnestness, he stood confessedly unfit for the work to which he had dedicated himself.

The people of Modern Times read little, and confine their reading to the works of Fourier, Owen, Noyes, and the like. They accept the teachings of these false prophets without question. Hence their views upon questions of morality. That such a set-

tlement, outwardly so attractive (for it is a pretty place) and yet so corrupt at heart, should exist almost within the shadow of the metropolis of the nation, is a circumstance full of danger. Having been once a hot-bed of immorality, and still holding the doctrines which led to that state of affairs, Modern Times may sink back into its old depths, and even rival the Oneida Community in vice. As it is, it stands as a warning to the men and women of to-day. What it may become again, is plain; for a Community in which public sentiment forbids even the censuring of unlawful intercourse between the sexes, is so corrupt at heart that, without a total abandonment of its pernicious principles, it must sink into the depths of actual and open licentiousness.

THE SPIRITUALIST BRANCH.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SPIRITUALIST BRANCH.

Spiritualism a Dangerous Element of Free Love.—Origin of the Doctrine in this Country.—Swedenborg's Doctrines made Public by the Brook Farm Reformers.—Professor Bush's Career.—A. J. Davis.—His Defection from Bush.—Sets up as an Independent Prophet.—Puts his Faith into Practice.—Finds his Affinity.—Views respecting Marriage.—Views of Dr. T. L. Nichols.—Views of Mrs. J. S. Gilhams.—Views of *The Universe*.—Views of George B. Smith.—Proposition for a Limited Marriage.—Views of Sarah B. Strudwick.—Confession of Chas. C. Carpenter.—Spiritualism Aids and Encourages Free Love.—How the Doctrine of Natural Affinities is Carried into Practice.—Confession of J. W. Towler.—A Case in Point.—A Boston Merchant Deserts his Family for his Affinity.—The Spiritualists Endorse his Course.—Pernicious Effects of Spiritualism upon Society.—Duty of Christian Men and Women.

One of the most dangerous of all the phases in which Free Love manifests itself in America, is its alliance with Spiritualism. The number of Spiritualists in the United States is estimated by Judge Edmonds, one of the most distinguished leaders of the sect, at four millions of souls—an immense concourse, truly, and a dangerous one, too, when it is remembered that these people are all more or less committed to the doctrine of Free Love. Even though he may not practise it, the Spiritualist is bound to uphold the doctrine, since it is a part of his peculiar creed.

Spiritualism, although of more recent origin in

this country than Perfectionism, has spread more rapidly. The real source of its strange and abominable doctrines is Swedenborg's "Arcana Cœlestia." The American professors of the faith declare that it is the invention of Andrew Jackson Davis, a shoemaker of Poughkeepsie, New York; but those who feel inclined to examine Davis' "Great Harmonia"—the acknowledged text-book of the Spiritualists of this country—will find that it is a mere plagiarism of the ideas set forth in the writings of the Swedish Seer.

The works of Swedenborg were first brought into prominent notice in this country by the young fanatics who constituted the "Brook Farm Community." It is true that these works were not entire strangers to America at this time; but they were known to a very few, and that few were unlearned and of no mark in society. "Their priests were unlettered, their chapels obscure, their journals without talent and without sale. The name of Swedenborg was hardly so much a power in the country as that of Zinzendorf or that of Mack. But Ripley, and the little band of poets and scholars who went out into the desert of Brook Farm, introduced him to the intellectual world. In truth, the Swedish seer was necessary to these idealists. Fourier, a man without love and without a future, was too hard and cold a reformer to fill their hearts. As a ruler in the kitchen and on the farm they thought him excellent; but a good kitchen and a fat farm were not to be all in all with these high, poetic natures. They wanted a new social order, but they could not receive a social order absolutely di-

vorced, like that of Fourier, from every connection with a world to come.

"They found in Swedenborg much that suited their frame of mind. The Swede presented many sides to a reader. To the godly he offered himself as a teacher of religion; to the student, as a scientific thinker; to the mystic, as a visionary; to the sceptic, as a critic. Unitarians liked him because he hinted that the Father and the Son are one. Infidels praised him for rejecting nearly half the Bible, and especially the writings of St. Paul. To the idealists of Brook Farm he appeared as a great intelligence, which could reconcile a phalanx with the higher powers. In the combination of Fourier and Swedenborg they fancied they could see the germs of a new order of things, fruitful of good alike to the body and the soul. Hence they made much of Swedenborg in their writings. They took from him their motto; they quoted his dreams; they admired his science; they lauded his imagination; nay, some of the more eminent men among them described him as being at once a great social reformer and a great religious seer. Ripley called his visions sublime; Channing coupled him with Fourier as a teacher of unity; Dwight called him the Great Poet and High Priest.

"The Rev. Henry James, a Brook Farm enthusiast, who scandalized society by making a public confession of his call to the New Jerusalem, filled many pages of 'The Harbinger' with proofs that there is so little difference between Fourier and Swedenborg in practice, that a convert of one reformer may admit

the other reformer's claims; since Fourier's Passional Series (a pretty French name for Free Love) might be readily made to run alongside of Swedenborg's toleration of concubines. In fact, this reverend author, a man of very high gifts in scholarship and eloquence, declared himself, on spiritual grounds, in favor of a system of divorce, which is hardly to be distinguished from divorce at will."

The most eminent of all the converts to Swedenborg's teachings was Professor George Bush, an eminent Oriental scholar, a graduate of Dartmouth and Princeton, and a minister of the Presbyterian Church. The adhesion of such a man, whose writings on the Old Testament had been read and admired in every part of the country, was a great gain to the new faith, and his example was followed by many others. Into this new faith, to which Bush devoted all his time and talents, were now drawn the men and women who, chafing at the old order of affairs, were anxious to find free scope for their particular notions in the new. Most of his converts were followers of Owen and Fourier. "The hearts of these men were ripe in superstition. Fourierites, who had refused to give the Father a place in His own world, listened with eager trouble to any poor trickster who professed to communicate with the unseen world. Owenites, who banished from their model societies the very names of angel and spirit, received into New Harmony every wandering biologist and mesmerist who could bring them signs of the existence of Satanic life."

Professor Bush drew large numbers of these rest-

less souls into his fold. He did not cling to Swedenborgianism pure and simple, but altered and amended it to suit the people for whom he designed it. He included in it Mesmerism, and when the "strange phenomena" of the Rochester rappings, as the juggleries of Kate and Margaret Fox were called, were proclaimed to the country as the manifestations of the dwellers in the spirit-world, he seized upon Spiritualism, and so completely identified it with his new religion, that he may be said to have made the spirits his slaves. Bush had long been familiar with the theory of spirit manifestations, for Swedenborg claims that he spent his whole life in company with spirits. Most of his English pupils had been blessed by angelic friends, some of whom had manifested their presence by writing, and others by rapping. Consequently the theory of ghostly visitors was not unknown to Bush. Heretofore it had seemed too monstrous to be declared to an American public; but when the excitement which followed the tricks of the Fox girls showed Bush how credulous mankind is, he daringly laid hold of the principle as a part of his religion, and began to teach it in his writings and public utterances.

Among the pupils of Bush was a young shoemaker of Poughkeepsie, one Andrew Jackson Davis, about twenty years of age. He now made his appearance before the public as a seer of the new creed, endorsed by Bush as an honest man, and one possessed of the noblest spiritual gifts. Davis was shrewd enough to allow his patron to make him well

known to the faithful before he threw off his submission to him; but it was not long after his public introduction and endorsement by Bush, before the pupil threw off his allegiance to his master, and set up for himself as an independent prophet and seer. In proof of his spiritual gifts, he produced the "New Harmonia," and several other bulky books, the substance of which was impudently stolen from Swedenborg. Not satisfied with purloining the ideas of the Swedish seer, the new prophet stripped them of the delicacy of their author, and clothed them with the grossness of his own imagination. "When Bush saw reason to think his young friend no better than a rogue, he took up his parable against him; but the shoemaker of Poughkeepsie beat the Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in New York; and the high movement in favor of a more spiritual science, which began among the poets of Brook Farm, and grew among the professors of Boston and New York, fell away into the widely popular but in no way intellectual, societies which find their gospel in the 'Great Harmonia,' their leaders in Horne and Chase."

I have said that Davis stripped Swedenborg's theories of their dreamy, poetic character, and clothed them with the grossness of his own mind. He did more. Swedenborg was a close student of the Bible, and did not seek to destroy the past. Davis threw away the Word of God as a snare and a delusion, and set up his own jugglery in its place. He rejected all the past history of our race; or rather, he esteemed it of no account, and gave heed only to the present and

the future. Swedenborg, whether an impostor or not, was a man of deep religious sentiment and of pure life. Davis, on the contrary, was an avowed disbeliever in religion. He cared nothing for it, and, judging him by his subsequent career, it would seem that he invented his new system as much for his own profit and convenience as any thing else; for he was prompt to make use of the liberty his spiritual privileges gave him. He made himself a physician, declaring that his gifts of healing were supernatural, and then set to work to sell cures. He declared himself a seer and a searcher of hearts, and boldly demanded pay for his services in this respect. Nor was this all. Having proclaimed the doctrine of affinities as the rule of his faith, he promptly set about putting his precepts into practice. He began to search for his natural mate, and soon found her.

"The lady had the misfortune to be married; but what of that poor shred of legal difficulty? In the spiritual circles hearts are no more than acids and alkalies, which draw near to each other by a natural law; on the principle which Captain Otto explains to Lotte—that of free affinities. Davis found in this married lady his free affinity; and, after her death, he found a second affinity of his soul in another married lady, whom he claimed from a surprised and outraged husband as his natural mate. This second elect ran away from her husband, got off to Indiana, headquarters of the great spiritual doctrine of Free Divorce, and in that happy land of discontented wives found a release from her hateful bonds."

It cannot be possible that the faith of which such a man was the prophet can be otherwise than immoral.

Having affirmed that Spiritualism in its social features is but another form of Free Love, let us glance at the teachings and practice of several of the prominent members of the sect. We shall find that all are engaged in a bitter crusade against marriage. So long as marriage is regarded as the healthiest and best rule of society, Spiritualism and its Free-Love allies must languish. Hence the bitterness, the energy, with which they assault this great bulwark of society, both Christian and civil. Davis himself heads the attack. In one of the later volumes of "The Great Harmonia," he says:

"Should a man or a woman, after entering into the relation of husband and wife, become convinced, by various means, that each does not embody the other's *ideal*, then they are not truly married—they are *divorced;* and both have a natural right to seek further for the embodiment of the heart's *ideal* associate. Human legislation may not forbid them to marry again. In truth, men have no right to control arbitrarily the soul's deepest, purest wants, the rights and elevations of true marriage."

Again he declares:

"The social responsibilities of marriage are not as complicated as many legislators and lawyers affirm. We know that in this order of society there must be a legal recognition of marriage; a record made of the fact, in order to settle property questions, wills, deeds,

&c.; but the words pronounced by the minister or justice are in themselves of no account either in earth or heaven."

In the same volume he says:

"When two present themselves to the proper magistrate, soliciting divorce, or when one makes application in writing signed by the other, and both make satisfactory statements, and present sufficient guaranty in regard to the disposition of their children, should there be any, then let their oath of honesty and free will be taken and recorded, with their names, and a certificate of legal divorce be given to each in return.

"If the law requires a *crime* as the basis of an action, let us forthwith elevate the moral standard of right and wrong, and say: If a woman, under the influence of importunity and the desire for a home, marries one whom she does not fully love, that woman hath committed adultery and a crime yet more against posterity. Or, if at first she did love her husband, and subsequently for sufficient, deep-seated, and capricious reasons, *loves him conjugally no longer*, but another instead, and does not take that other to be her husband, she is then guilty of being both a prostitute and an adulteress. The same moral law is equally applicable to man under like circumstances.

"If a woman testifies of disaffection toward her husband, or if the husband testifies of disaffection toward the wife, and his or her *probity* can be established by witnesses and neighbors by whom the parties are known, let such be divorced."

Dr. T. L. Nichols says:

"If by marriage is meant an indissoluble monogamy (or a union with one), a legal exclusive bond of a civilized institution, I deny that it *ever* is, or *ever* can be, right. *I assert that the promise of a man to love any woman as long as he lives, is wrong.* . . . I denounce, therefore, the civilized marriage, as a violation of the laws of nature and the command of God."

Mrs. J. S. Gilhams, of Indiana, says:

"I, for one, feel that the ball must be kept rolling, until this life-long marriage law be swept from the nation, and in its place be instituted a law of higher significance, more exalted conceptions—one that will redeem the world from the sins of the fathers that have been visited into the third and fourth generation of them that disobeyed the Divine sanction of marriage. What is more sickening or revolting to the generous thinker, than seeing two souls, magnetically antagonistic to each other, tied together by the brittle thread of legality, perverting the divinity in their nature, cradling monstrosities, combining in their offspring these conditional antagonisms, rendering their nature at war with itself?"

The Universe, the New York organ of the Spiritualists, Free Lovers, infidels, and free-thinkers generally, says, in defining its position as the adversary of Christian marriage:

"Free Love, even, may not be so bad a thing. 'God's love is free,' or said to be, and those who imagine that a man's or a woman's love, if equally free, is gross and wrong, think to little purpose, or do not think at all. We are approaching a crisis in society,

and the problem now demanding solution is the relation of the sexes, in marriage and out of it. However it may be solved, whether by the extension of easier divorce facilities to unhappily-united couples—by a return to strict codes, where marriage is substantially indissoluble—or in an ultimate withdrawal of control in every form, by both State and Church, from this most sacred relation of human beings, the issue is now joined, and the parties in this 'irrepressible conflict' must be heard.

"For the uncovering of the horrors perpetrated under the protection of the so-called 'holy' institution of marriage, as it now is, *The Universe* has been denounced in many quarters as 'obscene,' 'nasty,' and 'immoral.' But the work has been commenced. The unveiling of hidden iniquities cannot longer be prevented. Since *The Universe* began its work, many a wretched victim of legal lust has come to us, thanking God and the angels that there have arisen those who will tear aside the veil that the Church and the law have placed around wedlock, and will tell of the pollution, the outrages, and the murders, thus sanctioned and protected."

George B. Smith, of Michigan, advocates the Free-Love doctrine in the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of mankind to consider all questions affecting their temporal interests, and judge of them wisely, discarding bigotry, dogmatic faiths, and Divine theories, being governed wholly by the practical results.

"*Resolved*, That the question of marriage is one

of paramount importance to mankind, concerning, as it does, the happiness of the present and existence of the future generations.

"*Resolved*, That, in view of the discordant marriages, the evils of celibacy and of prostitution, the existence of frightful diseases, of malformed, demented, and vicious offspring, of secret vices and amours, and other immoral practices, and of disgraceful divorce prosecutions, makes it high time that every thinking man and woman should seek earnestly for a remedy for them, if any can be found.

"*Resolved*, That the greatest hope of regenerating the human race is in the regeneration or new birth of offspring free from the sin and disease now polluting the race; and this can only be accomplished through the union of parents under truly loving and virtuous conditions.

"*Resolved*, That when married life becomes miserable to the parties, it is their duty to dissolve it; and in obstructing their separation, society becomes guilty of legalizing prostitution.

"*Resolved*, That marriage contracts between the parties should be made on the same basis as those of any other partnership—for such periods of time, and upon such terms, as the parties may agree, they taking of each other such security as they may deem expedient for the faithful performance on the part of each; and that laws should be made permitting and legalizing such contracts.

"*Resolved*, That a partnership for life, under the present attitudes of the sexes, is too much like a lot-

tery, with more blanks than prizes, and that the risk of a wasted life, by drawing a blank, is too much to ask of weak and erring mortals, the effect of which discourages prudent persons (or those most fit to undertake the duties and responsibilities of married life) from incurring so fearful an adventure, and hence exerts a baleful influence by discouraging matrimony; that limited contracts, subject to renewal, would obviate this difficulty, and really encourage judicious matrimony; would also draw out of each of the parties their better natures (the reverse of which is now too true), and continually improve their disposition and deportment towards each other, thereby banishing in time the evils of discordant natures, intemperance, licentiousness, &c., by creating and rearing offspring free from these vices, instead of perpetuating them, as the blind and unharmonized system now tolerated so effectually and lamentably does."

Sarah Brook Strudwick writes to *The Universe* as follows, in support of the above resolutions:

"The resolutions of Mr. George B. Smith on 'Limited Marriage Contracts,' published in your issue of March 3d, are timely and interesting. It has so often been objected, 'What do you mean to give us in place of the present marriage which you would destroy?' These resolutions answer the question. They are constructive and satisfactory, as far as they go. If it were the custom to make business contracts obligatory for life, murder and robbery would be the rule, instead of the exception. Experience has shown fully that the present life-long marriage is the grave of

love. This belief is sufficiently illustrated in our works of fiction, where the legal marriage closes ominously the book. We know too well that, after that, the slavish position of woman makes her infinitely less interesting in the eyes of her master. In fact, all is 'flat, stale, and unprofitable.' There is a vulgar superstition, that love, being 'carried to its ultimate,' as Swedenborg would say, the refined fervor, the delicate consideration of the lover, is thereby evanished forever. But the contrary of this can easily be proved. The consummation of marriage strengthens the bond *between equals*. What destroys love, purity, health, manliness, womanliness, is the slavery of woman, through the inequality of the laws, and the wearing, life-long compact, which stands a threat before the man, as the woman—irritating and tempting. Hence we find it impossible to rejoice at a wedding, no matter how gladly we have recognized the love that it must abate. We know that the respect and admiration which the young man felt for the *free* young woman—free, at least, to the extent of marrying some one else if she choose—will fade surely into indifference, as he realizes that he owns her—owns her body and soul. Laws do not exist for saints or sages, but for average human beings. Saints and sages both have been known to act wisely and justly in chains in the Barbary States, but that scarcely proves the condition a desirable one. It may be objected that neither party in a marriage have received any instruction from father or mother which would make them obedient, even to physical law, and that

the benediction of the priests opens the flood-gates of undisciplined passion, which must necessarily end in disgust. This is true. But the law that makes woman a slave, makes a social sentiment also to keep her one. She is the powerless, uneducated victim of a cruel superstition, and but slowly lifts herself erect and seeks to be free as a man."

I could multiply these quotations indefinitely, but the above are sufficient. They show plainly the bitter hostility with which Spiritualism regards that institution which men look up to as the great bulwark of public and domestic happiness in the world.

Let us now glance at the practice of the Spiritualists. I give the statement of two men, who furnished their testimony to Mr. Wm. Hepworth Dixon during his recent visit to this country.

"CARPENTER'S CONFESSION.

"*March 30th*, 1867.

"I was born in the State of New York, and moved to the West when I was thirteen years old. Our family settled in Wisconsin, and my folks became intimately acquainted with a revivalist preacher named Berner, whose teachings affected me some. He was connected in his labors with Charles De Groff, a Spiritualist from New York. Afterwards I became a Swedenborgian, and continued in that belief for several years.

"In the Spring of 1863 I moved with my family to Minnesota, and formed the acquaintance of Dr.

Swain and his wife. She had been a Swedenborgian, and was better versed in the doctrines of that sect than I. She was now a Spiritualist of the school headed by Andrew Jackson Davis. She lent me books on the Harmonial Philosophy written by Davis, and speedily indoctrinated me into the mysteries of Spiritualism. She was a medium possessed of psychometrical powers, and under her teaching I soon learned that it was wrong for men and women who are not adapted to each other to live together. I had been married seven years, and led a life of domestic happiness, although my wife never sympathized with my religious views. Under the teachings of the Harmonial Philosophy, I was led to reflect a great deal, and visited Mrs. Swain frequently to converse on topics that interested me. My wife became suspicious, and charged me with an improper intimacy with Mrs. Swain. This was not the case; but, as time wore on, I gradually experienced a diminution of affection for my wife, and became more attached towards Mrs. Swain. Mrs. Swain said that there was no compatibility between Dr. Swain and herself, and that she had frequently thought of leaving him.

"The Harmonial Philosophy teaches, in effect, that persons who are not 'affinitized' are committing adultery in living as man and wife. Davis, however, teaches that, by proper means, in many cases an 'affinity' can be brought about; but the general tendency of Spiritualism is to separate those who are not congenial.

"During a year and a half I became very impres-

sible—in fact, a medium; the invisible guides impressed me with many ideas of a religious nature, some of which tended to convince me of the reality of the spiritual world. Among other things, I became strongly impressed with the growing incompatibility between myself and my wife; and, on the other hand, with the growing affinity between Mrs. Swain and myself. These impressions I communicated from time to time to Mrs. Swain, and she in turn told me of similar impressions which she had in reference to me. . . . My wife had ceased her suspicions. . . . I learned from Mrs. Swain that many Spiritualists of note had thus sought out their affinities, and had abandoned the connections which were inharmonious. My course in the matter was determined by what I then conceived to be religious duty. Mrs. Swain told me of the doings of John M. Spear, with whom she was acquainted. He divorced his first wife on account of incompatibility, and lived with Miss Clara Hinckley, with whom he had discovered an affinity. He went to England with her.

"After I had been acquainted with Dr. Swain and his wife for two years, I was called by business connections to St. Paul, in Minnesota, where I formed the acquaintance of several mediums; one was living with her affinity, another was mis-matched and was in search of her affinity. There were but two or three families of Spiritualists in St. Paul who were not mismated. Nine-tenths of all the mediums I ever knew were in this unsettled state, either divorced, or living with an affinity, or in search of one. The majority of

Spiritualists teach Swedenborg's doctrine of *one* affinity, appointed by Providence for all eternity, although they do not blame people for consorting when there is an attraction; else, how is the affinity to be found? Another class, of whom Warren Chase is the most noted example, travelled from place to place, finding a great many affinities everywhere.

"CHARLES C. CARPENTER."

"TOWLER'S CONFESSION.

"CLEVELAND, *March 25th*, 1867.

"Fifteen years since, while a Universalist preacher, I became a Spiritualist; and speaking of myself as an example, I here state that Spiritualism undermined and destroyed my respect for marriage. It led me to look on that institution in the light of a doctrine of affinity, and to regard it as a union or arrangement which the parties to it were at liberty to make or remake to suit their own notions of interest and convenience; in short, through Spiritualism, as presented to my mind, marriage lost entirely its institutional and authoritative character, and there was substituted for it an affinital relation, to exist or be dissolved at the pleasure of the parties. This was the theoretical view. In process of time, I became what is called a Free Lover—meaning, by that, simply one who holds that the individual has the right to make and remake his or her connubial relations, without consulting any authority, religious or legal. This always seemed to me, and does now seem to me, to be the legitimate

result of the doctrine of individual sovereignty which Spiritualism unquestionably teaches.

"My acquaintance with Spiritualists was quite extensive until within five or six years past; and among those with whom I have been acquainted, the tendency of thought in regard to marriage has been of the same cast. I am also acquainted with most of the Free Lovers who have at one time or another congregated at Berlin Heights, in this State, and also with many others who sympathized with that movement scattered here and there throughout the West. And though it cannot be said with truth that all Spiritualists are Free Lovers, yet it may be said that all Free Lovers, with rare exceptions, are Spiritualists. There can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has been behind the scenes, that among the adherents of Spiritualism there are many Free Lovers, practically, who would not like to be known and reckoned as such. Indeed, of late years, Spiritualists have been seeking to remove from their system the stigma of teaching Free Love; and yet it is notorious, at least among themselves, that some of those who are loudest in denouncing that doctrine are practising what they profess to repudiate. As I have defined Free Love, above, there is an abundance of Free Lovers amongst Spiritualists.

"Among the lecturers and leaders in the Spiritualistic movement with whom I have been acquainted, I think the greater number have either been divorced legally, or have found themselves unaffinitized—in such cases seeming to feel themselves at liberty to go

outside of their matrimonial relations for the love they could not find therein. I could give many names, but prefer not to do so, because the facts in my knowledge have in most instances been made to me in a confidential manner; so I content myself with speaking of the matter in this general way.

"J. W. Towler."

Nearly every reader of these pages will find something in his own experience to confirm the above statements.

Not many years ago, a gentleman of wealth and good social position, residing in the city of Boston, became a convert to Spiritualism. Up to this time he had led a life of strict morality and integrity, and had enjoyed an unblemished reputation. He was the father of a large family, which included two daughters of a marriageable age, and had always manifested very great fondness for his wife and children. Upon embracing Spiritualism, he became a changed man. He began to absent himself from his family, to treat them with coldness, and even with harshness. At the same time, he was often seen in the company of a young woman of considerable notoriety in Spiritualist circles. His family were compelled to exist on the merest pittance, but he made handsome presents to the spiritual companion who had ensnared him. In vain his friends remonstrated with him. He was deaf to all their appeals, and, in about a year from his first estrangement from his family, entirely deserted them, and refused to provide for them further. He

ADDRESS ILLUSTRATION

rented a house not far from his former home, and installed his paramour in it as mistress, the two living together in open shamelessness. To his friends, who ventured upon a last remonstrance with him, he declared that nothing would ever induce him to return to his wife. She was not his true affinity, he said, and it was wrong for him to live with her. The woman with whom he was then living he declared to be his true affinity, and maintained that there was no harm in the relations existing between them. They loved each other, they were man and wife in the eyes of Heaven, and it was a perverted public sentiment which censured them. Leading Spiritualists were consulted by the friends of the wife, in the hope of devising some means of a settlement of the trouble, but without result. They declared their inability to do any thing. The couple in question were exercising what all Spiritualists assert to be an inalienable right, and they were warmly welcomed in Spiritualist circles as valiant champions of this right. The Boston Spiritualists not only refused to reprove the man for deserting his wife for a younger woman, or the young woman for seducing the recreant husband, but maintained the propriety and lawfulness (not legality) of the act.

It will be found, upon a close examination, that a very large number, if not a majority, of professed Spiritualists, are immoral persons, and that all uphold immorality when practised by their fellows. They pay no respect to marriage. Men and women living together without any tie but their own fancies for

each other, are held by them in higher esteem than those whom the law and religion have joined together; for they regard them as the heroic pioneers of the new order of society for which they are all working. They cast aside all the restraints of marriage, and hold that men have an inalienable right to leave their wives, and women to leave their husbands, and seek new partners as often as they see fit, and that no one has the right to seek to interfere with them. If the law brands this change as a crime, they denounce that law as corrupt, and exert themselves to weaken its moral force. They do not hesitate to seduce women, to lead husbands astray from their wives, to separate families, and they thus work with determined and dangerous zeal for the destruction of the great basis of social and political morality. It matters not that they deny this, when their evil deeds are brought home to them. The effects of their teachings and practice are visible all around us, and they are alarming.

Those persons, therefore, who would do their part towards saving society from the evils with which it is threatened by the doctrine of Free Love, should regard it as one of their most sacred duties to offer the most unwavering and consistent opposition to Spiritualism and its teachings. They should exert themselves to discover and expose the impostures of the mediums, and to lay before the world in all their hideous deformity the social doctrines and practices of the followers of Andrew Jackson Davis. This is no difficult task, and is one which should be faithfully performed.

FREE LOVE IN SOCIETY.

CHAPTER XXV.

FREE LOVE IN SOCIETY.

Effects of the Teachings of Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright.—Statement by an English Writer.—The Strong-Minded Woman in her Glory.—How Impure Women seek to Justify themselves.—A Peculiar Feature of American Society.—The Woman who Thinks for Herself, and Scorns the Control of Society.—A Free-Love Wedding.—Irregular Unions Endorsed by the Law.—A Specimen Free-Love Poem.

Besides the organized efforts of Free Love at Oneida, at Berlin Heights, and other places, there appear from time to time certain teachers of the doctrine, who succeed in drawing around them more or less weak-minded people, who blindly follow their teachings, and in their turn aid in corrupting the moral tone of society. The labors of Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright have not been without their result. To the baneful influence of the former we owe the shameful divorce system of Indiana, and the general looseness upon the subject of marriage which prevails in the country. These two reformers, full of their notions that the world is overpeopled, and that Christian marriage makes every woman who adopts it a slave, set to work to induce people to believe that the number of mouths to be fed must be reduced, and that woman must be freed from her bridal-bonds.

Owen wrote a book called "Moral Physiology," and Fanny Wright began a systematic crusade against marriage. Owen has the discredit of having suggested to Father Noyes his dirty practice of "Male Continence;" and Fanny organized a war which has been vigorously carried on by her strong-minded successors. In the next chapter we shall see how these advocates of Free Love, male and female, have succeeded in spreading immorality in the country. For the present, I desire to ask the reader's attention to the following extracts from an English work. It is a sad state of affairs which can warrant such a declaration:

"There is only too much reason to fear that the effect of all this teaching on the part of those who sought after the better life—of Dale Owen and Frances Wright, of Albert Brisbane and Clarisse Vigoreux, of George Ripley and Margaret Fuller—was a vast increase in America of those irregular unions of men and women which, though known in many parts of Europe, are nowhere half so dangerous to public morals as in the United States.

"When a man and woman, either in France or England, dally with the thought of entering into any of these lawless unions, which are known in America as a state of Free Love—unions contracted freely by the parties, but on a clear understanding that they are time-bargains only, made to last either for a fixed term, subject to renewal, or simply for so long a time as the partners please—they know very well that the world will not be with them, and that they can only live the life they are choosing to adopt under a social

ban. In their own hearts, such a man and woman may be able to find excuses for what they do; they may fancy that they lie under the strain of some special wrong, for which the law can yield them no redress; and they may feel that social wrong has driven them into setting all social laws aside. But they do not pretend to think that what they are doing is right, and that the world is false and fiendish because it holds up before them the chapters of an immutable moral code by which they stand condemned. The woman who, in England, claims to be a law unto herself, will yet daily and hourly pray to God that her child may never have to face that question of acting on the individual will.

"In the United States it is not so. The great disparity in the two sexes, which in that country makes the female master of every situation, has deprived society of the conservative force engendered by fear and shame. No woman in that country needs to care whether she offend or not. If she is right in her own belief, that is enough; she is hardly more responsible to her lover than to her groom. Instead of having all society against her, she finds a certain portion of it, and that of a class distinguished in some degree by art and culture, on her side. Free Love, instead of being universally condemned, has in America its poets, orators, and preachers; its newspapers, lecture-halls, excursions, picnics, and colonies—all of which help to give it a certain standing and authority in her eyes.

. . . . . .

"Under the teaching of this sort of song and science, a class of American women has been brought to confound the moral sense so far as to think that it is right for a girl to obey her nature, as some of the religious zealots say it is right for a man to follow the leading of the spirit. When one of these emancipated females departs from what the world would call the straight line of her duty, she claims to be following the 'higher law,' and begs mankind to admire her courage and applaud her act. Thus it happens that a lady who prefers to live in temporary rather than in permanent marriage, with the man she loves, does not quietly submit, in America, to complete exclusion from society. She asserts a right to think for herself, in the matter of wedlock, as in every thing else. Is the moral question, she asks, of higher note than the religious question? In Rome, and countries like Spain, she can understand that any departure of either man or woman from the usual rules, should be followed by a social curse; society in such countries being inspired and guided by an infallible Church; but in her own free Republic, where the law knows nothing of a Church, either fallible or infallible, who has the right to launch a social curse? If a woman is free to make her own terms with God, why should she not be free to make her own terms with man? Is heaven of less account than earth? Indeed, does not the higher liberty involve the lower? Free Love is, she thinks, a necessary sequence of free faith. Why, then, in acting on her right, should she suffer a social stigma?

"Such are the reasonings and the protests of a host of female preachers and writers; of ladies like Frances Wright, Lizzie Doten, and Cora Hatch."

The idea being once established that marriage is merely a time-bargain, that it is not a union for life, it follows that all religious and civil forms by which marriage is contracted amongst civilized nations are rejected by these reformers. Men and women simply agree to live together till mutual disgust, or weariness on the part of one or the other, separates them. The following will give the reader some idea of how these "Free-Love Bridals," as they are called, are managed. It is the statement of Mr. B. L. Lawrence, of Boston:

"A FREE-LOVE WEDDING.

"Boston, *February*, 1867.

"Having mingled much with the world at large, and with the reformers and Spiritualists particularly, and seeing so much of domestic inharmony, my mind was made up never to marry, when a Bible Spiritual Medium came some miles to meet me, sent, she said, like Peter to Cornelius, to testify to me concerning the things of the coming kingdom of heaven; and she told me that the believers must enter in in pairs, and that among the things lacking in my case was a *wife!*—that I must and would soon find *my* mate, and that, until then, I would meet with nothing but disappointments; that I would know her soon, as we should meet, &c. Sure enough, troubles came—'fightings within and fears without.' A great fire at Syra-

cuse burned up the *Journal* office, with all our bills, cuts, and stereotype plates. My partner, Mr. C., left me alone; and I concluded to go to a meeting of the Friends of Progress, at Stockport, N. Y., and, by request, I visited the farm of Mr. R., where the women work out-of-doors, and they have some of the Community spirit.

"Here I met with a young music-teacher from Quincy, Massachusetts, by the name of Priscilla Jones. Strange as it may appear, I felt that she was to become my wife as soon as I heard her name spoken; and two days later, at the foot of Niagara's reef of rainbows, baptized by the mists of heaven, we pledged ourselves to unite our destinies, and work together for human welfare, so long as it was mutually agreeable; and the next Sunday, at the close of the Convention, we publicly promised to live together as husband and wife. B. M. L."

Doubtless the reader will think that such forms as these are simply absurd, and amount to nothing in law. Let us see.

In 1867, a man and woman, professing the doctrine of Free Love, had lived together in Cincinnati, made money, reared a family of children, and then died. They had not been married as the law directs. They had simply gone to their circle, taken each other's word, and then begun to keep house. No form had been used that could be called a contract. No entry of their pledges had been made. It was simply said, in behalf of these children, that the parents had

undertaken, in the presence of some other liberal spirits, to live together as long as they liked. On these grounds the children claimed the property left by their parents; and the Court of law, after much consideration of the facts, allowed their claim. The people of Cincinnati were shocked and indignant at the decision; but the friends of Free Love were jubilant, declaring that a hard blow had been struck at marriage.

But Free Love does not always present itself to the mind in such gross forms. It has its poets, its artists, many of whom are possessed of considerable genius. I give the following as a specimen of the rhymes upon this topic. It is a declaration of love, divided into two parts; one part describing the love that will bless the happy pair in free courtship, the second part describing their bliss in free marriage. The poetess has allowed her Muse to lead her into regions into which the writer of these pages finds it utterly impossible to follow her.

"FREE LOVE.

"I will love thee as the flowers love,
That in the summer weather,
Each standing in its own place,
Lean rosy lips together,
And pour their sweet confession
Through a petal's bended palm,
With a breath that only deepens
The azure-lidded calm
Of the heavens bending o'er them,
And the bluebells hung before them,
All whose odor in the silence is a psalm.

"I will love thee as the dews love,
In chambers of the lily,
Hung orb-like and unmeeting,
With their flashes bending stilly,
By the white shield of the petals
Held a little way apart;
While all the air is sweeter,
For the yearning of each heart,—
That yet keep clear and crystal
Their globèd spheres celestial,
While to and fro their glimmers ever dart.

"I will love thee as the stars love,
In sanctity enfolden,
That tune in constellations
Their harps divine and golden,
Across the heavens greeting
Their sisters from afar—
The Pleiades to Mazzaroth,
Star answering to star;
With a love as high and holy
And apart from all the lowly—
Swaying to thee like the planets, without jar.

"I will love thee as the spirits love,
Who, free of earth and heaven,
Wreathe white and pale-blue flowers
For the brows of the forgiven,
And are dear to one another
For the blessings they bestow
On the weary and the wasted
In our wilderness of wo;
By thy good name with the angels,
And thy human heart's evangels,
Shall my love from holy silence to thee go."

"FREE MARRIAGE.

"I will love thee as the cloud loves—
The soft cloud of the summer—
That winds its pearly arms round
The rosy-tinted comer,

Interwreathing till but one cloud
Hangs dove-like in the blue,
And throws no shadow earthward,
But only nectar dew
For the roses blushing under;
And, purified from thunder,
Floats onward with the rich light melting through.

"I will love thee as the rays love,
That quiver down the ether,
That many-hued in solitude,
Are pure white knit together;
And if the heavens darken,
Yet faint not to despair,
But bend their bow, hope-shafted,
To glorify the air,—
That do their simple duty,
Light-warm with love and beauty,
Not scorning any low plant anywhere.

"I will love thee as the sweets love,
From dewy rose and lily,
That fold together cloud-like,
On zephyrs riding stilly,
Till charmèd bard and lover,
Drunk with the scented gales,
Name one sweet and another,
Not knowing which prevails;
The wingèd airs caress them,
The hearts of all things bless them;
So will we float in love that never fails.

"I will love thee as the gods love—
The Father God and Mother,
Whose intermingled Being is
The life of every other,—
One, absolute in Two-ness,
The universal power,
Wedding Love the never-ending,
Through planet, man, and flower;
Through all our notes shall run this
Indissoluble oneness,
With music ever deepening every hour."

FREE DIVORCE.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FREE DIVORCE.

The Effort to Break Down Marriage.—By Whom it is Made.—Views of Christian Communities respecting Marriage.—Fidelity the Test in Law and Religion.—True Meaning of Free Love.—Marriage Ceases to be regarded as a Permanent Institution.—Position of the States of the Union with regard to Divorce.—The Divorce Laws of Indiana.—Astounding Looseness.—Position of the Religious Denominations of the Country respecting Divorce.—An Unbroken Front.—Looseness of Clergymen.—They do not Regard their Ministerial Obligations.—The McFarland-Richardson Case.—Charge of Recorder Hackett.—Remarks in the Woman-Suffrage Convention.—The Violation of the Law Applauded.—Views of *The Independent*.—Exultation of the Free Lovers.—Declaration of J. H. Noyes.—Statement by Mr. Greeley.—Terrible Looseness.—How an Eastern Merchant Got Rid of an Old Wife and Took a New One in a Single Day.—Statement of the *Chicago Times*.—Divorce Market of Chicago.—Statistics of President Woolsey.—Comments of the *Baltimore Sun*.—The Divorce-Ring of New York.—How Divorces are Obtained.—Lawyers of the Divorce-Ring.—Working up a Case.—What such Divorces are Worth.—The Referee System.—Systematic Perjury.—Statements of the New York *World* and *Herald*.—Illustrations.—The Rich Son and his Victim.—A Father's Justice and its Sequel.—How a Husband was Victimized, and Robbed of his Wife.—A Divorce Gained by Perjury.—Retribution.—A Chicago Suit and a Righteous Judge.—A Washingtonian seeks to Cast off his Wife because he is Tired of Her, and Wishes to Marry her Sister.—A Novel Use of Divorce.—Public Opinion Corrupt.—A Proposition for Limited Marriage.—Declaration of *The Universe*.—Woman Suffrage Necessitates Free Love.—Duty of the Public.

HAVING shown the workings of the doctrine of Free Love in the organized efforts of its votaries, let us now glance at some of its effects upon society.

The chief effort of those who advocate or practise

this infamous doctrine is, as has been shown, to break down the institution of marriage, they being aware that, so long as this institution exists, they must meet the contempt and denunciation of reputable persons. Anxious to bring their vile principles into favor, they seek to degrade society to their own level, and, by destroying all morality, to glorify their shame. In order to do this, they naturally seek to destroy marriage, the strongest barrier which religion and society have raised against them. Should they succeed in destroying this, religion itself will follow, and society will be reorganized upon principles of universal licentiousness. This is their avowed programme—first, to destroy the institution of marriage; second, to abolish the Christian religion; and third, to inaugurate a reign of lust.

It is not necessary to enter into any defence of the marriage relation here. The writer presumes that his readers are persons of respectability, and that they do not share the hostility manifested towards it by the Free Lovers. It is simply enough to say, that society has recognized marriage as its greatest safeguard against the assaults of passion, and has sought to protect it by every means in its power. In all Christian countries, the sacredness of the marriage institution is distinctly recognized, public sentiment looking with disfavor upon unions which are not consummated by a religious ceremony. The civil government, in order to protect it still further, has made marriage binding in law as well as in religion. It requires that a man and woman shall have but one matrimonial partner

In this country the friends of Free Love have accomplished much. They have succeeded in stripping marriage of its religious character. A very large number of our people regard the institution as merely a civil contract, and never seek a religious ceremony at their union. Public opinion sustains them in this, and has long since ceased to regard a religious ceremony as a necessary part of a valid marriage. Having thus lowered the wedded estate to the level of a mere business partnership, it is not to be wondered at that the means of escaping from it should have been multiplied also. A recent writer thus sums up the position of the States of the Union with respect to divorce:

"The law of divorce in the United States is various in different States. In New York, jurisdiction of all cases, whether of divorce *a vinculo*, or of limited divorce *a mensa et thoro*, was given by statute to the Court of Chancery, and upon the abolition of that Court, it vested it in the Supreme Court in the exercise of equity power. Adultery of either party is the sole cause occurring after marriage for which a divorce *a vinculo* can be granted. It is, however, provided that sentence of imprisonment to the State Prison for life is civil death, and the husband or wife of such imprisoned person is at liberty to marry again without the necessity of any judicial action. Imprisonment for a less term than for life merely suspends civil rights, but does not abrogate them; and the convict, upon expiration of his term, resumes his marital rights. No provision is made by law for the case of

divorces were rare, being granted only for the one cause just mentioned. As the world advanced in civilization, and the Church lost its temporal power, it became necessary for the State to take the marriage relation under its protection, and to guard its sanctity by severe laws. Licentiousness, that chief source of the devil's power over men, kept pace with civilization, and men and women, under the influence of this temptation, began to find the restraints of wedlock irksome. They desired a freer field for their fierce passions, and began the effort to break down marriage, which has continued to this day. Their first triumph was gained when some of the European States made marriage merely a civil contract, and stripped it of its religious character. Their next triumph was when the State began to grant divorces with permission to marry again for causes other than adultery. Since then, facilities for divorce have gone on increasing, until, at the present day, marriage has lost much of its moral power.

In our own country society has suffered greatly from the inroads of Free Love. Licentiousness exists in all parts of the world, but the Western Continent is the home of Free Love. Licentiousness is very different from Free Love. The former exists in secret, and avoids publicity. The latter not only exists in defiance of the law, but seeks to destroy it, and to build up a system of its own, in which vice shall be made admirable and morality a reproach. As I have said before, the only way in which this can be done is by first destroying the institution of marriage.

In this country the friends of Free Love have accomplished much. They have succeeded in stripping marriage of its religious character. A very large number of our people regard the institution as merely a civil contract, and never seek a religious ceremony at their union. Public opinion sustains them in this, and has long since ceased to regard a religious ceremony as a necessary part of a valid marriage. Having thus lowered the wedded estate to the level of a mere business partnership, it is not to be wondered at that the means of escaping from it should have been multiplied also. A recent writer thus sums up the position of the States of the Union with respect to divorce:

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long-continued absence, except that there is an exemption from the penalty of the statute against bigamy in the case of a second marriage when the former husband or wife has been absent five successive years, without being known to the other to be living, but the second marriage is not thereby made valid. In some of the States jurisdiction has not been conferred upon the Courts to grant divorces, and the power rests solely with the Legislature; and in others, although there is judicial authority, yet applications to the Legislature are also made. In all the States adultery of either party is a ground of divorce. In Massachusetts, Maine, and New Jersey, wilful desertion for five years; in Indiana and Missouri, desertion for two years, cruel and inhuman treatment by the husband, or his habitual drunkenness for two years; in Ohio, wilful desertion for three years, and habitual drunkenness for the same period; in Vermont, imprisonment in the State Prison for three years; in Pennsylvania, wilful desertion for two years; in Connecticut, wilful desertion for three years, or seven years' absence without being heard of—also constitute sufficient grounds of divorce. In the State of New York, a limited divorce *a mensa et thoro* is granted on the complaint of the wife for cruel and inhuman treatment, or such conduct as makes it unsafe or improper for her to cohabit with her husband, or for wilful desertion and refusal or neglect to provide for her. Applications to the Legislature for a divorce have been most frequent in Vermont, Connecticut, and some of the Western States. In Connecticut, no petition for a

divorce can be acted upon in a case where the Courts are competent to give relief. In other States, as Virginia and Kentucky, such an application is usually referred to the Courts for investigation." *

The State which is most lax (or most *liberal*, as the popular term is) in the matter of divorce, is Indiana. The following is an abstract of the laws of that Commonwealth relating to this subject:

"§ 6. Divorces may be decreed by the Circuit Courts of this State, on petition filed by any person who, at the time of the filing of such petition, shall have been a *bonâ fide* resident of the State one year previous to the filing of the same, and a resident of the County at the time of filing such petition; which *bonâ fide* residence shall be duly proven by such petitioner to the satisfaction of the Court trying the same.

"§ 7. Divorces shall be decreed, upon the application of the injured party, for the following causes:

"1. Adultery, except as hereinafter provided.

"2. Impotency.

"3. Abandonment for one year.

"4. Cruel treatment of either party by the other.

"5. Habitual drunkenness of either party, or the failure of the husband to make reasonable provision for his family.

"6. The conviction, subsequent to the marriage, in any country, of either party of an infamous crime.

* "Appleton's Cyclopædia," vol. vi., p. 525.

"7. *Any other cause for which the Court shall deem it proper that a divorce should be granted.*

. . . . . .

"§ 23. The divorce of one party shall fully dissolve the marriage contract as to both.

"§ 24. A divorce decreed in any other State by a Court having jurisdiction thereof, shall have full effect in this State." *

The law of Indiana, as well as that of Connecticut, recognizes no partial divorce. It breaks the nuptial bond entirely, and leaves both parties free to wed again. In the case of Indiana, the reader will see how great a liberty is granted by the clause which I have italicised.

Having examined the positions of the States, let us now see how the principal religious bodies view the subject of divorce.

The Roman Catholic Church recognizes no divorce with permission to marry again in any case. Separations from bed and board are acknowledged, but parties must seek no other union until the death of one makes the other free. Persons living in this state of separation are encouraged to come together again.

The Protestant Episcopal Church recognizes divorce only when granted upon the ground of adultery. No minister is allowed to solemnize matrimony in any case where there is a divorced husband or wife of either party still living; but this is not to apply to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery, or to parties once divorced seeking to be united again.

* "Revised Statutes of Indiana," vol. ii., pp. 234–237.

The Presbyterian Church recognizes divorce for adultery only, and allows the remarriage of the innocent party only.

The Methodist Church holds the same ground as the Episcopal and Presbyterian upon this subject.

The Congregationalists having no common authority except the Bible, each separate church determines such matters for itself, under the advice and counsel of Associations. As far as the writer is informed, these churches recognize divorce only for adultery, and refuse to solemnize the remarriage of the guilty party.

The Baptists, like the Congregationalists, are independent of a central authority, but the rule with them seems to be that laid down by the New Testament, which recognizes divorce only for adultery.

Thus it will be seen, the principal religious denominations in this country cling to the Bible rule, and refuse to sanction the remarriages of divorced parties guilty of adultery, although such marriages are valid in law in some parts of the Union. I shall show, farther on, that the law is not loose enough to suit the popular taste, and at present it will be hardly more than necessary to state a few facts to show the reader that even the churches are not sustained in their doctrines by their own ministry. A recent number of the *Toledo Commercial*, referring to this, says:

"Recent events having made the remarriage of divorced persons so prominent, and excited so much discussion of the duties of ministers of the gospel in that connection, it may be proper to refer to the mat-

ter again, and inquire both as to the practice and the authority of the clergy in the premises. We deem it entirely safe to say, that Mr. Beecher stands by no means alone in the matter of remarrying divorced parties. On the contrary, we are satisfied, from observation and other information, that great and extended looseness exists among the clergy of more than one denomination. We are assured that many of these treat the marriage ceremony purely as a civil contract, and hence consider themselves at liberty to perform it for any body entitled to be married under the statute. Indeed, ministers have told us this was the fact. It is not probable that intelligent persons could arrive at such a conclusion by any course of reasoning, but must assume it, without reflection. A moment's thought would show, that while the magistrate acts only as a civil officer, aiding in the consummation of a civil contract, the clergyman acts in the twofold capacity of civil and spiritual agent—attesting the agreement of the parties under the law, and sanctioning and sealing it in the name of the Almighty. The one is answerable for the manner in which he discharges his trust to the State alone, while the other is responsible both to the State and to his Church. From this it will be seen that, while the magistrate is bound to look only to the law for direction, the clergyman must look to the statute and also to the requirements of his commission as a minister of the gospel. The one is required to act whenever called upon by parties authorized by law to marry; the other is allowed to exercise his own discretion in each

case presented. A clergyman may marry whom he pleases, or no one; but the magistrate has no such option. The reason for this distinction is found in the difference in the authority of the two. The civil officer merely declares the union to have been effected according to the laws of man; the clergyman, according to the laws both of God and man. The one looks to the statute to decide any question that may arise, while the other looks to that, to the Bible, and the regulations of his church.

. . . . . .

"While such are the theory and rules of the leading religious denominations, it is without doubt true that many clergy are loose in their practice—so much so, indeed, as scarcely to stop to go behind the license presented by the parties. It is not for us to call such action in question, any farther than their violations of church obligations justly subject them to the charge of inconsistency. So long as they keep within the statute, they are only answerable to the ecclesiastical authority for what they do outside that. The ground of censure of Mr. Beecher was not so much that he married a woman divorced for a non-Scriptural reason, as that he married one not divorced at all, according to the laws under which he acted. Had the so-called divorce of Mrs. McFarland been a real and legal fact, Mr. Beecher's church alone would have been authorized to call him to account for his actions, although all persons would have been at liberty to judge of his consistency as a clergyman. But when he employed both his civil and ecclesiastical functions in promoting

what is believed to be an unlawful and demoralizing act, he subjected himself to the just censure of all good citizens—a fact of which he seems to be about as conscious as most other people."

It has not been very long since a distinguished clergyman of the State of New York "united in marriage" (?) a woman who had been divorced from her husband under the Indiana law, and a man who was charged with having seduced the divorced wife under very aggravating circumstances. The second "marriage," as it was called, was performed by the authority of the State of New York, which State has distinctly refused to recognize the validity of an Indiana divorce. This being the case, the minister's office was a mockery. The second ceremony was not a legal marriage, but a sham.

The Recorder of the city of New York, in charging the Grand Jury, which met some time after this occurrence, used the following language with reference to it:

"I think I should be derelict in the discharge of my functions as an elected conservator of the peace and morals in this court, did I now omit reference to some of the incidents following the act which culminated in the homicide just referred to. In vain shall conductors of influential newspapers, and claiming to be moral leaders, beneficially affect the community, if they convert their homes into Free-Love asylums. In vain shall ministers of the gospel be heard when criticising public men, as well as warning private parishioners, if they are allowed, unrebuked, to give bene-

dictions to bigamy, or to consecrate lechery by prayers at the bed of death. If there has been bigamy committed, or aided or abetted, by any persons, no matter how elevated in life they may be, fearlessly investigate the matter, and, arriving at the fact of probable guilt, promptly indict."

About this time the National Convention of the Woman-Suffrage party met in New York. Among other topics, the marriage of Mrs. McFarland to Mr. Richardson was discussed. The Free-Love tendencies and sympathies of the Woman-Suffrage party are so well known to the reader, that it will hardly surprise him to read the following abstracts of addresses in support of the outrageous proceedings connected with the Richardson-McFarland affair:

"Mr. Poole, the mover of the resolutions of last week, then proceeded to advocate their passage. He thought that this Richardson affair would enable them to look into its causes, and to show the inconsistency of a newspaper planting itself upon politics instead of upon principles. His opinion was that the divorce laws of this State should include other causes for separation besides the one of adultery. (Applause.) Cruel and inhuman treatment, habitual unkindness, or a refusal to support the family, should be a sufficient ground. He then proceeded to speak of the marriage ceremony performed at the Astor House. He said that *the man that had refused to perform that ceremony would have been unworthy the name of an American citizen. He justified all of the three clergymen*, but said that Mr. Frothingham was the noblest

Roman of them all. (Applause.) The others had showed the white feather. Mr. Field had ensconced himself behind Beecher, and Beecher had got behind the *Tribune*, and Mr. Greeley had granted him a dispensation to perform that ceremony. (Applause.) *It was true*, the speaker said, that *there was a statute against performing such a marriage*, but he honored them for overriding such a statute. (Applause.) Our laws were the old Oriental laws, when men had harems. The same laws can be found in Turkey and elsewhere. Women are loaded down with laws. He *objected to all laws affecting women* because they are women. (Applause.) The speaker then proceeded to apologize for men. He said they were so educated that there was not one in a hundred that knew how, when he was married, to treat a woman properly. (Great applause.) Women cannot maintain an action against the seducer of her husband ; she cannot recover damages as a husband can if his wife is seduced, and this the speaker thought all wrong. He then read from a paper of several prospective marriages on Fifth Avenue, and continued: 'Now, if these ladies should see their names published as belonging to this Association, or any other that would benefit society, *how they'd blush!* how they'd screech! how they'd howl!" (Applause and laughter.) Mr. Poole concluded by hoping the day was not far distant when woman would have equal power with man—would sit with him on the bench and in the council chamber, or in the legislative halls, and then all these oppressive laws would be expunged from the statute-book.

"Mrs. Blake said she wished to say a few words on this divorce question. There had been so much misconception as to what was said at these woman's meetings, that she felt it to be her duty as a wife and a mother to speak on this subject. She would not agree to give so wide a sweep to divorces. Perhaps great cruelty might be a sufficient cause, but she could not be in favor of these lax divorces of the Western States. There were others to be considered besides the parties themselves—there were the children; and then, too, the effect on society would be pernicious. Look, she said, at the example of France during the Reign of Terror, when the divorce laws were relaxed, and the effect of it was that a woman could not go to a public assemblage without seeing six or eight different husbands. Then, too, what sort of a domestic life would there be under this state of affairs? What would a child be, to grow up under the influence of half a dozen step-fathers? For herself, she most solemnly protested against any step which would lead to any thing of the kind. (Applause.)

"Mrs. Norton said she would like to know what the condition was in France at the time spoken of by the previous speaker. For her part, she thought that even the condition spoken of by Mrs. Blake, *when the woman had six or eight husbands, was much better* than that under which they now lived, when a woman was obliged to live with a husband she detested.

"Mrs. Somerby thought that this question should not have been brought up here. She had no objection to the resolutions as such, but they were more

suitable for a social-reform club than a suffrage association. She heard a great deal at these meetings about the *Tribune* and about the reporters, but very little about what should be the real object of the association—suffrage. They should discuss the right of women to vote. When she got the ballot, she would soon legislate on all these questions.

"Dr. Hoeber said that they should try to show why they wanted the suffrage; and this is one of the reasons. He had noticed one thing in connection with the case which led to this discussion, and that was, that none of the papers of the day took up the cause of Mrs. McFarland, and this was a specimen of the way women were treated. All through the social scheme mothers would marry their daughters to men and never make inquiry as to how many poor girls he had ruined; but if a girl got seduced, her chances of marriage were gone. *The present system of marriage was nothing but prostitution.* (Sensation. Several ladies here left the hall.) The Doctor continued for some time longer in this strain."

The *New York Independent* expressed itself as follows upon this subject:

"This horrible case is a new illustration of the folly and wickedness of that semi-superstitious sentiment which, in the name of maintaining the sanctity of marriage, outrageously perverts the very idea of marriage, *by compelling the life-long union of two persons, either of whom finds such a union to be loathsome, degrading, and unholy.* There is no divine, and there ought to be no human, law to compel the continuance of any marriage which, so long as it contin-

ues, is nothing better than legalized prostitution. 'Whom *God* hath joined together'—that, and that only, is the Divine idea of marriage. Any thing short of that is abomination. To chain two human beings fast to each other's side, against the perpetual protest of galled and wounded human nature, is an offence at which angels weep. The great, indifferent public have no right to say, either on the basis of any statute law, or on the deeper basis of any popular sentiment, or on the still deeper basis of any supposed religious tenet, that any two individuals, man and woman, shall live together as husband and wife against the inward protest of their own individual souls. Derived from whatever source, based on whatever foundation, sanctioned by whatever tradition, such a legalized tyranny is unworthy of a Christian civilization, shamefully perverts the fundamental teachings of Christianity, and destroys the sacred claim of religion to the reverence of mankind."

How greatly the Free Lovers of the country were delighted with the course of those who upheld the conduct of the actors in this affair, may be seen from the following declaration of John H. Noyes, in *The Circular* of May 16, 1870:

"*One point gained would seem to be the setting of Greeley, Beecher, &c., against marriage. There has been a tremendous pommelling of the* TRIBUNE *on the one side, and of the fashion of the world on the other. McFarland has got the best of it in the verdict, but marriage has got many an ugly blow in the* MELÉE; *and the end is not yet.*"

This is no idle boast. The principle of Free Love

has weakened marriage, has struck it many a blow, and one of the hardest is the neglect of their duty in the premises by so many clergymen. The moral effect of their delinquencies can scarcely be estimated.

I have shown that, while some of the States of the Union refuse to grant divorces but for one cause, others place scarcely any restraint upon them, leaving it, in one State at least (Indiana), to the discretion of the judge to whom the appeal for separation is made. So great is the laxity which prevails upon this subject, that it is only necessary for a married individual to become tired of his or her partner, to procure a divorce. It is now in the power of any person possessing the necessary amount of money to win over the judge to whose discretion the question of separation is entrusted by the law. Almost any cause is sufficient, if the judge can be properly influenced. Marriage no longer has any restraints. Those who find the nuptial tie irksome, can easily undo it. Mr. Greeley, some time ago, in referring to this state of affairs, said: "The Paradise of Free Lovers is the State of Indiana, where the lax principles of Robert Dale Owen, and the utter want of principle of John Pettit (leading revisers of the laws), combined to establish, some years since, a state of law which enables men or women to get unmarried nearly at pleasure. A legal friend in that State recently remarked to us, that, at one County Court, he obtained eleven divorces one day before dinner; 'and it wasn't a good morning for divorces either.' In one case within his knowledge, a prominent citizen of an Eastern manu-

facturing city came to Indiana, went through the usual routine, obtained his divorce about dinner-time, and in the course of the evening was married to his new inamorata, who had come on for the purpose, and was staying at the same hotel with him. They soon started for home, having no more use for the State of Indiana; and on arriving, he introduced his new wife to her astonished predecessor, whom he notified that she must pack up and go, as there was no room for her in that house any longer. So she went." *

Indiana, however, is not the only State in which such looseness prevails. Illinois has almost as bad a record, as the following article, which appeared in the *Chicago Times* in December, 1868, will show:

"During the present year of grace, two hundred and eighty-four wives and one hundred and seventy-six husbands have filed petitions for divorce in the various courts in the city. These lachrymose persons, telling the sins of the defendants upon their finger-ends and praying nightly for relief, throng the courts and press their suits with overwhelming importunity. They have been trouping up during all the months and weeks of the year, pouring a continuous plaint into the ears of patient Justice, and making the high places of chancery ring again with the sometime touching but now rather wearisome tale of misplaced affection and broken vows. This imposing procession, graced by so large a number of virtuous dames and honorable men, has already consumed many years in passing a given point, and there are no signs of the

* "Recollections of a Busy Life," by Horace Greeley, pp. 571, 572.

beginning of the end. Fortunately, the present purpose has only particularly to do with that portion of the train upon whose banner is inscribed—as the year of hope, or of deliverance—'1868.' And there are four hundred and sixty men and women, all told. It will be observed by all candid persons, that, in point of magnitude, the above is a very respectable number. It might have been greater, perhaps, without producing any general catastrophe; it might have been somewhat less, without endangering the reputation of the city as the great divorce centre. But, as it stands, it must be regarded as a very creditable exhibit of the industry of those societies who make the business a specialty, and as a substantial monument to the reverence for the moral obligations which obtains in the households of Chicago. In some manner, too, the divorce achievement of 1868 will get to be heralded as another of the manifold wonders in which the enterprise of our people finds expression. It will, doubtless, be assigned a place among the many irresistible statistics which are put forth, from time to time, by benevolent citizens for our glory among posterity. The fact that the annual divorce record is ignored in the reports by the Board of Trade, by no means involves the conclusion that the value of the figures is not appreciated by that erudite and sagacious body. Considerations of a purely personal character, which would render its publication distasteful to a considerable proportion of its membership, may have been the sole reason for its omission. The work of family dismemberment which is progressing

in Chicago will probably suggest forebodings to those eminently well-meaning persons, of a dyspeptic turn, who are predestined to morbid views of things. And it is to be admitted that all the facilities for accomplishing this purpose which any rational being could ask for, are afforded here with the same liberality which, in so many other respects, characterizes this great metropolis. The details of the year's struggle in this branch of litigation show that, out of four hundred and sixty suits—the whole number brought during the year—two hundred and eighty-four were commenced by wives, and only one hundred and seventy-six by husbands, leaving a balance of one hundred and seventy-six in favor of the superior enterprise of the dear creatures. In the matter, too, of obtaining decrees, the wives lead the husbands by one hundred and thirteen cases. They are also ahead in another respect. Forty-one wives were found to have committed adultery, while the number of husbands upon the same score was only thirty-nine. In regard to cruelty and drunkenness, the husbands are, of course, greatly in the majority, though it appears, nevertheless, that the gentler sex has not wholly abandoned the broomstick, and that an unwarrantable degree of inebriety has been indulged in by some few members of that highly-esteemed organization. The progress of the divorce epidemic during the year may also be noted with profit. Its greatest ravages occurred in June. Both sexes were on the rampage about that time. Prudent persons will mark the month as very dangerous. There were also many vic-

tims of March and October. In the case of March, the prevalence of east winds probably contributed greatly as a predisposing cause. In the case of October, the excess is mainly due to the fact that about that time many persons are making their domestic arrangements for the winter. But these reasons do not hold good as to the month of June. The unusual liability to become a victim to a divorce suit during that month must be left unaccounted for. During the year there has been an increase in the number of divorce suits commenced of one hundred and twenty-two over the number brought in 1867, and an increase in the number of decrees granted of one hundred and thirty-two."

The West is bad enough in this respect, but the East is not blameless. Some time ago, President Woolsey, of Yale College, published an article on "Divorce in the United States," in which he made a fearful showing of the frequency with which that which was at first designed as a rare and extreme remedy, is now used. The article is based upon a careful examination of the statistics of twenty-three States, including nearly all the older ones. The causes of divorce are given in the various reports presented to the Legislatures. In Vermont, out of 571 divorces in five years, there were for adultery, 164; wilful desertion, 188; desertion, 60; intolerable severity, 126; for refusal to support, 13; with 20 others, in most of which more causes than one are mentioned. In Massachusetts, out of 1,294 divorces granted in about five years, there were for adultery, 546, or 42.3 per cent.;

for desertion, 589, or 45.6 per cent.; for cruelty, 122, or 9.4 per cent.; 15 for intemperance, and 21 miscellaneous. In Ohio, out of 2,681 cases, of which the causes are particularly assigned, there were granted, for adultery, 935; for absence and neglect, 1,030; for cruelty, 440; for intemperance, 196.

Commenting upon this statement, the *Baltimore Sun* remarks:

"Of the origin of the applicants for divorce we have no items furnished to us, save that, in Ohio, the counties where the Catholics form a considerable part of the population fell below their ratio, while the 'Western Reserve counties have a much larger proportion of divorces than the rest of the State.' These counties are composed of the Simon Pures of the Puritan stock, and the leaders in all manner of isms. In Vermont, the ratio of annual divorces to annual marriages foots up for seven years a total of 730 divorces to 15,710 marriages, or a ratio of 1 to 21. In Massachusetts, for a period of four years, there was a total of 1,022 divorces to 45,372 marriages—a ratio of 1 to 44. In Ohio, in 1866, the divorces were 1,169, marriages 30,479, or a ratio of 1 to 26. In Connecticut, in a period of eight years, the divorces foot up 2,910, marriages 33,227—a ratio of 1 to 11. From Prussia we have some materials for instituting a comparison between that country of loose divorce laws and the States named above. We exclude the Catholic population, which cannot be done with accuracy in the States, and thus the story the tables tell is unfairly in favor of the latter. For instance, in Connecti-

cut, where the whole number of marriages was 4,978 in 1866, the marriages in which both parties were of foreign birth were 1,208. Now, of these it is safe to say that two-thirds—say 800—were Catholics, who rarely petition for divorce in that State. Deducting them, we have the ratio of one divorce to less than eight and a half so-called Protestant, or rather non-Catholic, marriages. Prussia, in 1855: Marriages of non-Catholics, 84,914; divorces, 2,937; ratio, 1 to 23. These statistics go to show that, bad as the West is in the facilities it affords for divorce, it has received rather more than its share of odium. There is a general looseness on this subject in the legislation of most of the States, which is discreditable to us as a civilized people, and inimical to the happiness and virtue of society."

I have stated that the law of New York grants a complete divorce upon the ground of adultery only. This is the law in several of the other States, but it is by no means a barrier to the Free-Love tendencies of the age. Divorce can be obtained even in New York by citizens of that State, or by citizens of other States, without any such sin being committed by either husband or wife. The manner in which this is done has attracted considerable attention of late, and the newspapers of New York have been engaged in exposing it. I quote here, for the reader's edification, the statements of two of the leading journals of that city. I do this in preference to making any statement of my own, in order that it may be seen that my views are not groundless, and that the looseness to

which I have referred prevails even in the State which boasts of its rigid morality in the matter of divorce.

(*Statement of the New York World of Oct.* 8, 1869.)

"THE DIVORCE RING.

"Looseness of the Marriage Tie—How Divorces are Obtained—Lawyers of the Ring—Working Up a Case—What Such Divorces are Worth—The Referee System, &c., &c.

"If a large proportion of the marital infelicity now so alarmingly prevalent in the United States is not actually caused by the indefinite application and maladministration of our ever-varying laws of divorce, it is, assuredly, too often tempted thereby into fraud and criminal conspiracy for its earlier relief. Lord Stowell, for fifty years a Judge of Doctors' Commons, pointedly said: 'A knowledge that persons united in marriage must continue husbands and wives, often makes them good husbands and wives; for necessity is a powerful master to teach the duties it imposes.' A most demoralizing peculiarity of our national system of divorce is the discord between the legislative statutes thereof in different States. While in the Middle and a portion of the Eastern and Southern States the conditions legally imposed before a dissolution of marriage can be judicially attained are wholesomely exacting and accordant with a strict Scriptural standard, in certain of the Southern, and even Eastern States, the most trifling asserted causes of disagreement, or 'incompatibility,' are sufficient to secure the law's disseverance of the marriage tie. The divorce

business of courts in Illinois and Indiana enjoys an infamous notoriety all over the world; while even staid old Connecticut offers a positive reward to connubial infidelity by at once granting full divorce upon comparatively slight pretexts, and leaving both parties legally free to marry again as their altered fancies may choose. He who in New York

> 'reads the marriage act with pride,
> And fancies that the law is on his side,'

may soon be taught, to his dismay, that some backwoods court at the West has privately given his artful better-half a divorce, and authorized her to wed, at her earliest pleasure, with the Lothario whom he (the off-cast husband) had not yet begun to suspect of treachery. Or, again, the lord and master whose preference has wandered from his lawful wife to some designing female poacher on her rightful domain, may openly give that wife the fullest justification in law for a New York divorce, and, after the latter shall have been decreed, go with his paramour to any town in Connecticut along the line of the nearest railroad, and there be legally joined to her for whom he has foresworn himself. One might infer from these dangerous and disgraceful possibilities that but few of the married ones who, from whatever cause, were discontented with their domestic relations, would be long restrained, by any other than the highest exceptional moral considerations, from availing themselves of the relief so variously attainable. It must be borne in mind, however, that an honorable action for divorce, openly and honestly undertaken in any State, involves

more or less harrowing public exposure of the holiest sanctities of life, and an amount of pecuniary outlay which few average pockets can well endure. In a suit conducted as the just spirit of the law designs, there must be some outgiving of the sorest facts to public notice—if no more than the name of the case and the ground of action; and it is scarcely in the nature of plaintiff's lawyer to allow the various 'services,' 'motions,' 'applications,' &c., of said suit, to be ended within a shorter time than from twelve to eighteen months, or to cost less than from five hundred to three thousand dollars. These two considerations, then, in the present lax tendencies of our divorce laws, constitute the chief bar against a wholesale 'popular' adoption of the legal remedy for domestic troubles; and their potency has invoked a class of fraudulent practitioners, whose insidious business it is to procure a dissolution of marriage for any or no cause, 'without publicity,' and at a cost suited to the most limited means. In other words, New York is the headquarters of a villanous and powerful Divorce 'Ring,' by the audaciously fraudulent practices of which the solemn marital covenant is made a despised and brittle toy of the law—to be broken and discarded at the will of the vicious and depraved. The

LAWYERS OF THE 'RING'

are the pariahs of their profession—men who have been disbarred in other States (sometimes in other countries) for detected malpractice; men who began life fairly, but sank to ignominy through dissipation

political failure, or natural vicious tendencies; men, even, who never opened a law-book before entering upon their present avocation, but gleaned a practical knowledge of the legal alternative of 'wedded woe' by a course of training in the private detective's trade. These latter worthies often hire the use of practising lawyers' names. Occasionally they hire the said lawyers themselves to go through the mummeries of the courts for them; and we could name one of our most eloquent and respectable criminal pleaders who, on a certain occasion at least, permitted himself to be nominally associated with one of the boldest operators of the 'Ring.' These sinister traders in domestic infamy, secret libel, and suborned perjury, announce their business and addresses by means of advertisements which on their faces give proof of deliberate fraud. In public print they inform their would-be patrons that 'success is guaranteed;' that 'no fee is required until the decree of divorce is secured;' that intemperance, desertion, &c., 'is a sufficient cause;' that there shall be 'no publicity;' and that the decree procured shall be 'good in every State.' No particular knowledge of any law is requisite to teach that a practice thus announced is rife with iniquity; nor do those who answer the bait believe that any honest or legitimate process is intended.

"THE DENS OF THE DIVORCERS

are situated chiefly on the thoroughfares most affected by lawyers of the highest caste, though even Broad-

way is not wholly exempt from them; and Wall street, Pine street, and especially Nassau street, contain a goodly number each. Without any ostentatious display of signs or identifications, they are generally furnished in the common law-office style, with substantial desks and chairs, shelves of law-books, and usually a shady private apartment for consultations. Sometimes the name upon the 'directory' of the building and name over the 'office' itself will be spelled differently, though conveying the same sound; as though the proprietor thereof might have occasional use for a confusion of personalities. Along the stairs and hallways leading to these dens, at almost any hour of the day from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M., may be met women in flashy finery and men with hats drawn down over their eyes—all manifestly gravitating, with more or less shamefacedness, towards the places in question. They may be dissolute actresses, seeking a spurious appearance of law to end an old alliance and prepare for a new one. They may be the frivolous, extravagant, reckless wives of poor clerks or hard-working mechanics, infatuatedly following out the first consequences of a matinee at the theatre and a 'Personal' in the *Herald*. They may be the worthless husbands of unsuspecting, faithful wives, who, by sickness, or some other unwitting provocation, have turned the unstable husbandly mind to thoughts of connubial pastures new and the advertising divorcers. They may be the 'lovers' of married women, who come to engage fabricated testimony and surreptitious unmarriage for the frail creatures whose virtue is still

too cowardly to dare the more honest sin. They are *not* the wronged partners of marriage, who, by the mysterious chastising providence of outraged hearths and homes, are compelled, in bitterest agony of soul, to invoke justice of the law for the honor based upon right and religion.

"THE MANUFACTURE OF 'A CASE'

by the contrabandists of divorce is often such a marvel of unscrupulous audacity that its very lawlessness constitutes in itself a kind of legal security. So wholly does it ignore all the conventionalities of mere legal evasion, as to virtually lapse into a barbarism, knowing neither law nor civilization. A young woman in flaunting jockey hat, extravagant 'chignon,' and gaudy dress, flirts into the den, and turns a bold, half-defiant face upon the rakish masculine figure at the principal desk. The figure looks up, a glance between the two tells the story, and the woman is invited to step into the consulting-room (if there be one), and give her husband's name and offence. A divorce will cost her say twenty-five, or fifty, or seventy-five dollars—in fact, whatever sum she can afford to pay for such a trifle. She can have it obtained for her in New York, or at the West, just as her husband's likelihood to pry into things, or her own taste in the matter, may render advisable. Not a word of the case can possibly get into the papers in either locality. She can charge 'intemperance,' or 'desertion,' or 'failure to support,' or whatever else

she chooses; but, perhaps, it would be better to make it adultery, as that can be just as easily proved, and 'holds good in any State.' This point being decided, the young woman can go home, and there keep her luckless wretch of a husband properly in the dark until her 'decree' is ready for her. If the applicant is a man, the work is all the easier; for then even less art will be required to keep the unconscious 'party of the second part' in ignorance of the proceedings. The case is now quietly put on record in the proper court (if the 'suit' is to be 'tried' in New York), and a 'summons' prepared for service upon the 'defendant.' To serve this summons any idle boy is called in from the street, and directed to take the paper to defendant's residence or place of business, and there serve it upon him. Away goes the boy, willing enough to earn fifty cents by this easy task, and is met upon the stoop of the residence, or before the door of the place of business, by a confederate of the divorce-lawyer, who sharply asks what he wants. 'I want to see Mr. ———,' says the boy. 'I am Mr. ———,' returns the confederate, who is thereupon served with the summons. Back hurries the boy to the law-office, signs an affidavit that he has served the paper upon defendant in person, is paid for the job, and goes about his business. The time selected for the manœuvre is, of course, adapted to what the 'plaintiff' has revealed of her husband's hours for home or for business; and, after the improvised server of the 'summons' has once sworn to his affidavit and disappeared, there is no such thing as ever finding him

again! A 'copy of the complaint' is 'served' in the same way; or, the 'summons' is published once a week for a month in the smallest type of the smallest obscure weekly paper to be found. This latter device, however, is adopted only when the plaintiff (having some moral scruples about too much perjury at once) charges 'desertion,' and desires to appear quite ignorant of unnatural defendant's present place of abode. If, for any particular reason, the party seeking a divorce prefers

A WESTERN DECREE,

the 'lawyer,' or a clerk of his, starts at once for Indiana, or some quiet county of Illinois; and, after hiring a room in some tavern or farm-house in the name of his client (to establish the requisite fact of residence!), gives the case into the hands of a local attorney with whom he has a business partnership. This Western branch of the trade has reached such license, that, not long ago, a notorious practitioner of the Ring actually issued an advertisement in a paper of New York, to the effect that he had just returned to this city from the West with a fresh stock of blank divorces! The wording was not literally thus, but such was its obvious and only signification. Whether the 'trial' is to take place in New York or Indiana, however, there is but one system commonly adopted in offering proof of the truth of the complaint upon which a divorce is demanded. Plaintiff's villanous

attorney, after waiting a due length of time for some response from the defendant in the case (!), asks of the Court, as privately as possible,

THE APPOINTMENT OF A REFEREE.

"His Honor the Court, upon learning that 'defendant' does not oppose (of course not!), names a referee, who shall hear the testimony in the case, and submit a copy thereof, together with his decision thereon, to the Court for confirmation. Then, before the referee—who is to be properly feed for his officiation—go the divorce-lawyer and two or three shabby-genteel-looking 'witnesses,' who from thenceforth shall never be findable by mortal man again. The 'witnesses' swear to any thing and every thing—that they have seen and recognized defendant in highly improper houses with improper persons; that they know plaintiff to be pure, faithful, and shamefully misused in the marriage relation, &c., &c. As 'defendant,' not even aware that he or she *is* a 'defendant,' makes no appearance, either in person or by counsel, to combat this dreadful evidence, the referee must, of course, render decision for plaintiff—'the law awards it, and the court doth give it.' The judge subsequently confirms this decision; a decree of full divorce is granted, in *due and full legal form*, to the triumphant plaintiff; and the 'defendant' is likely to become aware of the suit for the first time on that night. As the whole business has been an unblushing fraud upon the law, the question is,

"WHAT ARE SUCH DIVORCES WORTH?

"We answer, that not one of them has ever yet held good when ultimately contested in open court by the parties against whom they had been secretly obtained. Many of them, however—perhaps thousands!—have served the whole purpose of those purchasing them, because the husbands or wives so cruelly wronged and belied by them have either lacked the means or the heart to take proper and public legal measures for their setting-aside. How is the poor clerk or mechanic, the invalid or unfriended wife, to raise the hundreds—perhaps thousands—of dollars necessary for such a purpose?

'Domestic happiness,
That only bliss of Paradise which has survived the Fall,'

when once perverted to such a depth and darkness of cunning treachery as this, leaves the betrayed with very little courage to cover its poor grave with the ostentatious monument of legal justice. Retribution through the courts could not reclaim the unworthy husband or wife who had stooped to such wickedness for a longer license in vice; it could not heal the hearts made desolate by such coarse, cowardly treason; and it would cost more than slender purses can afford. And would it

BRING THE "RING" TO JUSTICE?

"It is a sad commentary upon the popular estimate of a high judiciary, that this question challenges

serious debate. A citizen of New York, whose misguided wife had secretly obtained a fraudulent divorce from him through such practice as we have described, and who, in turn, had successfully sued in the legitimate way for the dissolution of marriage thus forced upon him, sought to induce his legal adviser, a veteran metropolitan lawyer of the highest standing, to expose the infamous divorce 'Ring' before the courts, and demand, in behalf of his profession, that its practitioners should be at least disbarred. The response was, that the courts were presumed to be entirely ignorant of the fraudulent parts of the proceedings referred to; that the offenders could be 'cornered' only through a specific case in point against them; and, besides, that the referees in their cases were nearly all connected, either consanguinely or in bonds of partnership interest, with the judges who had appointed them, and before whom the motion for disbarment would probably come! For this last curious reason no lawyer could, consistently with his own best interests, inaugurate a movement likely to involve the whole referee system in its retributive effects. A lawyer so doing might, when arguing future cases in court, find a certain apparent disposition of the Bench to show him less courtesy than on former occasions—to snub him, in fact, and thereby permanently prejudice his professional future likelihoods in that jurisdiction! We refrain from comment upon this idea, leaving its justice or error to be discerned by the reader, according to his own perception of probabilities. The object of this article is

simply to expose a class of unscrupulous legal adventurers, through whose audacious trickeries with the law such a case as that of Nichols *vs.* Nichols (reported in the *World* of Friday, October 1) is possible. Thus it is that a husband may believe his wife to be pleasantly enjoying a visit to her friends, while she is really obtaining from his and society's enemies a 'decree' that shall make her his wife no longer. Thus it is that he could wake up some morning and find himself divorced and legally enjoined to future solitude, 'while she' (to adopt the exact words of Churchill's conclusion to his poem of 'Gotham')

> 'While she, secured in *liberty* and *law*,
> Found what she sought—a saviour in NASSAU.'

(*Statement of the New York Herald, Dec.* 23, 1869.)

"MARRIAGE DESECRATION.

"Law and Decency Set at Defiance—The Divorce Jugglers of New York—Divorces Procured at Short Notice—How Evidence is Manufactured by Professional Perjurers.

"Much has been written concerning the loose divorce laws of Indiana, Illinois, and Connecticut, and it is generally supposed that those States offer facilities for severing the marriage relation which can be found in no other section. The statutes of this State refusing divorces except for the crime of adultery, it would seem that New York should be the last place in which a person would apply for divorce on trivial grounds of complaint, and there is a popular idea that, with all the evils which society suffers in this city, the divorce business has not attained a foothold

here. This impression is very erroneous. The accommodations afforded at Western railway stations, where trains are said to stop fifteen minutes for divorces, are equalled, if not surpassed, in this respect in New York; and any married man or woman who discovers a new affinity, can here be cut loose from a matrimonial partner in the most expeditious manner. It is not necessary for the applicant for divorce to endure the disagreeable notoriety of publicly prosecuting his case, nor for him to even await the usually tardy process of the courts in such cases. Indeed, the applicant need not appear personally in the case at all, and, if he prefers it and has the money to pay the fee demanded, he may simply state his wishes to the procurer, who will himself make out a complaint, manufacture the necessary affidavits, push the case through the court, and forward the applicant a decree of divorce in an incredibly short period.

"There is probably no more complete system of fraud and outrage in existence than some of the divorce-procuring concerns of this city. It is not to be inferred that every lawyer who is particularly successful in procuring divorces is a knave; for respectable attorneys are very careful how they proceed in such cases, and do not take them without good evidence of the truthfulness of the complaint made by the applicant. But there is a class of men who make a regular business of procuring divorces, who keep about them a retinue of professional perjurers to manufacture evidence, and who will get a decree of divorce for any person at short notice. Not only are

false affidavits made out, but judicial signatures are forged, and, in nine cases out of ten, the credulous applicant receives for his money a decree of divorce which will not stand a moment when disputed by regular legal proceedings. Scarcely a day passes without the publication of suits setting aside such fraudulent divorces; but these form a very small portion of the divorces obtained by manufactured affidavits, as the defendant generally submits, and quietly procures a divorce also, in preference to making a fight, unless money or the possession of children is involved. The divorce-procurer does not care whether the decree be valid or not. He agrees to get a decree for a certain sum of money, and does not trouble himself about subsequent counter-proceedings unless there is a chance for another fee. Should there be an investigation, the parties represented as witnesses in the affidavits can never be found, for the signatures are all bogus, and the defendant must content himself with getting the decree set aside, without the satisfaction of punishing the perpetrators of the outrage.

"There is one class of applicants, however, who are always furnished by the procurer with a genuine divorce. This includes married persons who may be still living together, and whose position in society is such as to make it certain that the defendant would contest a divorce decree unless based upon positive and genuine evidence of adultery. Such parties, if living in New York, generally insist upon having a divorce in conformity with the laws of the State, and are willing to pay the procurer a sum sufficiently large

to induce him to work up the case in an elaborate and perfect manner. Two illustrations will suffice to show the exact nature of this class, and the means employed by the procurer in obtaining a valid divorce.

"First is the husband who is convinced of his wife's infidelity, but has no positive evidence of criminality on her part, and applies to the procurer to make a free man of him. The procurer details detectives, who are always kept at hand for such cases, to watch the suspected wife; and, finally, if the husband's suspicions are just, the guilty pair are caught *in flagrante delictu.* If, however, the woman be only indiscreet, and is simply flirting, the detectives are prepared to swear that they witnessed criminal conduct on her part, and will ingeniously manufacture, out of circumstances favoring suspicion, positive affidavits of guilt impossible to disprove in court. There is no doubt that many cases have occurred where a jealous husband has been divorced upon the conviction of his wife of adultery when she was perfectly innocent, the procurer perpetrating this outrage upon both parties merely to make his fee.

"Next is the wife who desires a divorce, but has no grounds of suspicion that her husband is unfaithful. She may be in love with another man, or may have no other reason for separation than the ordinary troubles of the married state. She communicates with a divorce-procurer, and, if prepared to pay handsomely, is assured that the divorce will be obtained. The unsuspecting husband may be perfectly upright in his conduct, and so respectable in all his associa-

tions, that no suspicious circumstances can be discovered to weave into evidence of adultery, and the procurer sends a fascinating woman to entrap him. She is beautiful, accomplished, and apparently a very paragon of propriety. She plays her game with consummate adroitness, and, sooner or later, involves the man in a train of circumstances which enable the procurer to convict him of adultery. The decree of divorce is issued by the court, and the unfortunate husband is left to pay the bills and meditate upon the baseness of mankind.

"These cases are among the least villanous operations of the regular divorce-procurer, and divorces thus obtained cannot be set aside. Fortunately, they are comparatively few in number; but the other class of divorces includes innumerable cases, and involves a complete system of perjury and forgery from beginning to end. To illustrate:

"Mrs. John Smith, residing in New York, writes to the divorce-procurer that her husband has ill-treated her, that she suspects him of adultery, and that she wants a divorce. The procurer replies that, if she will forward a formal complaint, accompanied by a certain sum of money, and pay another amount upon the divorce being obtained, her wishes shall be gratified. Next mail brings the complaint to the procurer, who calls in his professional perjurers, and acquaints them with the contents of the complaint. If, however, it is not strong enough, the procurer makes out another, forges the signature of Mrs. Smith, and, enclosing the new complaint in a document signed with

a bogus name as plaintiff's attorney, sends it to the referee appointed by the Court to take testimony in divorce suits. The law requires that the defendant shall be summoned to appear; and, to get over this difficulty, the procurer fills out the following form of affidavit, and attaches to it a bogus name:

"'*Superior Court of the City of New York.*— ———, being duly sworn, says that on the — day of ——— deponent served the annexed summons on ———, the defendant in this action, by delivering to and leaving with said defendant, ———, personally, a true copy of said annexed summons, at ———, in the city of ———, deponent knowing the person on whom he served the summons as aforesaid to be the defendant in this action.

"'——— ———.

"'Sworn to before me, this — day of ———.

"The following is the form of summons above referred to, and which, of course, is never served upon the defendant:

"'———, Plaintiff, against ———, Defendant.

"'Summons for relief.

"'To ———:

"'You are hereby summoned and required to answer the complaint in this action, which will be filed in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court of the city of New York, at the City Hall, New York; and to serve a copy of your answer to said complaint on the subscriber, at his office, No. — ———, within twenty days after the serving of this summons on you, exclusive of the day of service; and if you fail to answer to the said complaint within the time aforesaid, the plaintiff in this action will apply to the Court for the relief demanded in the complaint.

——— ———,

"'*Plaintiff's Attorney.*

"'Dated, ———, ———.'

"The signature as plaintiff's attorney is also bogus in this case, and the preliminary documents thus manufactured having been sent to the referee, the hired

tools of the procurer go before the referee to give evidence. Each perjurer gives a bogus name to the referee, and has a slip of paper inside his hat bearing the dates mentioned in the complaint, so as to make no mistakes. As he makes his statement, he keeps an eye on the memorandum in his hat, and is thus enabled to tell a straight story. Three or four of such rascals having made affidavits corresponding with the complaint, the referee, who, perhaps, may be acting in good faith, sums up the evidence with a recommendation, and the case goes to the Court, when, the defendant not appearing, the decree of divorce is immediately issued. Before any record is made of the decree, the procurer makes sure of his fee, and then forwards the decree to the complainant, who knows nothing of the details of the suit. In some cases the divorce proceedings are not placed on record at all, unless the applicant for divorce personally attends to it. Thus, in less than a month, Mrs. Smith gets her divorce, and imagines that she is perfectly free; but if the husband, upon discovering the affair, makes an appeal, he will have very little difficulty in getting the decree set aside. The bogus witnesses, however, cannot be found, and if the divorce-procurer is required to produce them, he can manufacture just as many affidavits as he may need to relieve himself from the dilemma. The witnesses give some boarding-house as their place of residence, and, as it is impossible for the proprietors of such places to always remember the names of their boarders, there is not much probability of the fraud being proved to its fullest extent.

"But there is still a more profound depth of villany into which some of these procurers dive. Where applications for divorce are based upon complaints of abandonment or cruel treatment, it is necessary to get the decree from some court in Connecticut, Indiana, or Illinois. Chicago is the favorite place for such operations, although Indianapolis and New Haven are extensively patronized. A party in New Jersey applying to a New York procurer for a divorce, must have the evidence taken before a New Jersey referee. The procurer in this instance not only manufactures bogus affidavits, but concocts a bogus referee's report, and forwards to New Haven, Chicago, and Indianapolis a mass of documents which do not contain a single genuine signature except that of the complainant. By means of similar trickery, the court before which the case comes up is satisfied of the reliability of the documents, and a decree is issued divorcing parties who may never have been in the State where the divorce is granted. A messenger is generally sent to New Haven with the documents, but those going to Indianapolis and Chicago are forwarded by mail, unless peculiar circumstances make it necessary to personally engineer the case.

"As before stated, in many instances of divorces thus fraudulently obtained the defendant may have been guilty, and, consequently, does not contest the matter; but if some of these cases were to be energetically investigated, it would reveal a system of fraud and perjury of astounding magnitude. There are very recent cases that can be cited where all the

villanies above mentioned were committed, and divorce documents are being almost daily manufactured for parties living in different parts of the Union, which would send their authors to the State Prison at short notice."

It is not enough to say that these things are illegal. Public opinion tolerates them; and no effort is made to put a stop to them. The depreciation of marriage goes on daily, and Free Love is daily gaining ground in society. Men and women are ceasing to recognize the restraints of marriage, now that they can be thrown off at pleasure. This is fast becoming the rule; and it needs only a glance at the luxurious offices of the divorce-lawyers of New York and Chicago to show how these vultures prosper in their illegal traffic. The moral tone of the country has been so lowered, that it requires scarcely an effort to break the marriage relation. The laws of those States which allow divorce only upon the ground of adultery are of little or no practical value, as we have seen, since divorces can be obtained even in those States by a systematic course of fraud. Oftentimes it is necessary to go but a day's journey, often only a few miles, to obtain a separation valid in law; and since the Federal Constitution requires that each State shall give full faith and credit to the acts of each and all the others, it is still a question in the minds of many able jurists, whether the State of New York is not bound to recognize the validity of an Indiana divorce.

Let us verify the statements already made, by the recital of some actual occurrences.

A few years ago, a young man living in an inland town seduced a girl of respectable but humble family, and by her had a child. The matter was kept secret up to the moment of the confinement of the girl. The young man's father was proud and wealthy, but his notions of honor would not allow him to pass over the scandalous affair. He compelled his son to marry the girl, and thus repair the wrong he had done her. She was no companion for his son, however, and, after making a comfortable settlement upon his low-born daughter, he sent the young man away, and in a year or two succeeded in freeing him from his bride by an Indiana divorce. The girl had committed no fault since her marriage, and the ground upon which the divorce was gained involved no indiscretion whatever upon her part.

Not long since, a divorce was granted by a New York court under the following circumstances: A married couple of wealth and position had been living together for a few years in great happiness. At the end of this time the wife transferred her affections from her liege lord to a "man of the world," as he is styled. It is not certain whether these parties were guilty of any criminal conduct during their "courtship," as they styled their conspiracy, but the circumstances warrant the belief that they were. It is certain, however, that the man, having seduced the wife's affections from her husband, induced her to bring an action for divorce against him, in order that he (the

seducer) might marry her himself. The suit was brought, but it was carefully kept from the knowledge of the husband, to whom the wife professed the most unbounded devotion. She drew sums of money from him on various pretences, and spent them in counsel-fees. As the law of New York grants divorce only for adultery, a bogus case was made. No notice was served upon the husband, and he naturally failed to put in an appearance when the case was called in court. He was in total ignorance of the whole affair, and believed that he possessed his wife's undivided affections. The appeal of the wife for separation was based upon a charge of adultery upon the part of her husband. False witnesses, who afterwards confessed that they were paid for their perjury, swore to the facts set forth in the wife's petition, and the case was so thoroughly sustained by perjury, that the court was utterly deceived, and the divorce was granted. The seducer and his accomplice were immediately "married." The injured husband's first intimation of his wrong was a notice of the divorce and the "remarriage" of his wife. It was too late to take personal vengeance upon the guilty pair, for they had sailed for Europe. He at once set to work to unearth the conspiracy of which he had been the victim, and succeeded in doing so. When the facts were laid before the court which had granted the divorce, the decree was revoked, and the whole infamous plot laid before the public. The guilt of the lawyer who had conducted the case for the wife was clearly shown; but the court, while doing justice to the husband, did

not have the independence to vindicate its own dignity by striking the scoundrel's name from its rolls.

A case somewhat similar occurred recently in a Chicago court. Some attorneys came forward and asked that a wife might be divorced from her husband. The husband appeared in court, and expressed his entire ignorance of the cause of such proceedings. He said his wife was in Europe, travelling at his expense; that he was in receipt regularly, by mail, of warm and endearing letters from her; that he had never had the slightest difficulty with her since their marriage; and that he did not believe that his wife was proceeding in the case of her own free will. He asked that the court would issue an order compelling the attorneys professing to act for his wife to show by whose authority they were prosecuting the suit. To this request the attorneys demurred. They said it was none of the defendant's business, and intimated that all he had to do was to furnish the money wherewith to carry on the suit, and accept the humiliation of a husband who has fallen into the meshes of a Chicago divorce-court. Fortunately, there was an honest judge on the bench at the time—Judge McAllister—who could not find it in him to sanction such knavery. To the utter confusion of the damnable pettifoggers who professed to represent the wife, he ordered a stay in the proceedings, until the wife could return from Europe and bring the action in her own name.

A few months ago, a sad case came before a judge of one of the courts of Washington City. Mrs.

——— appeared in court and entered a complaint against her husband. "It appears," says the New York *World*, in commenting upon the case, "that she had been a faithful wife to ———, and had borne to him five children, the eldest of which is still living, while three of the others died soon after their birth. She avers that her husband ceased to cohabit with her last November; that he has often solicited her consent to a divorce, in order that he might marry her sister, which request she has refused; and that he has consequently declared that he intends to seek a State where he can obtain a divorce from her. Therefore she asks that, pending a restitution of her conjugal rights and alimony, an order may be issued in the form of a writ of *ne exeat*, to restrain him from leaving the District of Columbia without giving bonds to answer the result of this suit. And Judge Olin granted the order.

"On the side of ———, a letter is produced, addressed by him to his wife in Washington, August 8, 1868. In this letter, which is carefully and affectionately worded throughout, the husband calls the wife's attention to her feeble health and a physical idiosyncrasy which had unfitted her for the connubial relation. He asks her to consider the early death of their offspring, his fondness for children, and his situation and temptations as a man "married in name though not in fact." And he makes of these matters an excuse for his proposal that she shall consent to a divorce, and to his marriage with her sister, who has long been a member of the household.

"Though the logic of this letter is singularly

shrewd and plausible, and though the woman who brought the letter into court and let it into print may have entitled herself, by such an indiscretion, to small sympathy, the defect in ———'s plea ought not to pass public muster unobserved. If marriage is indeed —as in Christian communities it is held to be—a sacred compact, then nothing short of infidelity, or, at the most, incompatibility of character or temper, on the part of a wife who has proved herself in truth a wife, can justify a husband in demanding a divorce. They who enter into marriage take each other for better, for worse. If misfortune—not merely poverty, or other loss of worldly circumstance, even the misfortune of a decay of health—befall, the compact, according to its letter and spirit, according to the highest, best conception of a marriage between man and woman, must still hold. In the present instance, it is admitted on both sides that Mrs. ——— had been a wife, had borne her husband children, and retained, at the time when his letter was written, his affection and respect. Can the claim of this would-be Mohammedan to assert a selfish personal desire, in place of the pure and unselfish devotion to which he had pledged himself at the outset, now be tolerated on account of her utterly helpless misfortune? Is it to be admitted, either in this man's interest or in the interest of society at large, that even the legal marriage-bond may have no better security than the longevity of what this husband in his letter chiefly pleads for?"

I have already related, upon the authority of Mr. Greeley, the incident in which an Eastern merchant

obtained a divorce from his first wife through an Indiana court, and married a new wife, his first partner being in total ignorance of the whole affair until she was unceremoniously turned out of what she had until then considered her home.

The following instance, which is the most innocent use made of the Indiana divorce laws, the writer has seen, yet shows how the marriage relation can be trifled with and deprived of its moral force. A widow lady living near New Albany held property from her deceased husband, which she might transfer while she remained single, but which, according to the will, she could not dispose of if she married a second time. With rash disinterestedness she did reënter the bonds of Hymen, and, being inclined of late to transfer the property of husband No. 1, found herself, of course, inhibited therefrom by the terms upon which it had been bequeathed to her. A consultation with an eminent lawyer ensued, and an amusing little household-game was arranged. The excellent lady and her second liege lord were to quarrel and fight every day for a certain period of time, in the presence of the children of the former, and said astonished offspring were to believe that the quarrelling and fighting were genuine, not feigned. Then the husband was to apply for a divorce on the plea of "incompatibility," the wife admitting the fact, and her children swearing to the violences they had witnessed. Pleasing to relate, this whole programme was capitally performed, and, after a trial of the culminating suit before his Honor Judge Bicknell, the court granted a

divorce to the applicant. By this simple process the wife was made a single woman once more, and qualified to transfer the property as she had desired. The transfer was made within an hour (to husband No. 2, probably), and within another half hour the divorced couple were remarried.

Cases such as those given above are happening every day in almost every part of the country. Formerly, the knowledge that the marriage relation was permanent was thought to do much towards making good husbands and wives; but now, the knowledge that it is one which can be dissolved at pleasure, is calculated to make very unworthy ones. People marry recklessly, and abandon their partners whenever some new fancy arouses their passions. They feel that, as long as the loose system of divorce which prevails is allowed to continue, they need not remain faithful to their marriage vows.

This state of affairs is very sad. It is not half so dangerous to the few individuals who are wronged by it, as to the country whose moral tone is lowered by it. Public sentiment must be very low indeed where such a system is allowed to prevail.

That we do not overestimate the importance of this evil, will be plain to any reader who will reflect that the popular disregard for marriage has kept pace with the growth of the Free-Love sentiment in the country, and that both have increased in proportion to the spread of immorality. Because Free-Love experiments are failing when tried in organized communities, because they are there producing the most dam-

nable evils, shall we shut our eyes to the dangers of the hour? The principle is far more disastrous in society at large than at Oneida, at Berlin Heights, or any of the other Free-Love hells of the country. It is a matter which merits the attention of every man in the land.

But, much as the men are interested in it, it is a still more important issue with women. The history of the world shows, if it teaches any lesson at all, that, the more men have regarded the obligations of the married state, the higher they have exalted the institution itself, the higher, nobler, and more dignified has been the position of woman. She has risen with Christian marriage. It has been her strongest defence, her greatest safeguard. Yet the mob of discontented women and men who call themselves the Woman-Suffrage Party, and who profess to be laboring for the elevation of woman to a still nobler and higher position, join hands with the Free-Love party, and strike their hardest blows at the institution of Christian marriage. They would destroy the institution to which woman owes her present position. A most insane attempt, truly, but one which is none the less dangerous. They would do away with the greatest power woman now possesses, in the foolish hope that, in the chaos that must follow such a destruction, woman will rise to a still higher position. Says *The Universe*, a leading Woman-Suffrage, Free-Love, Spiritualist, and infidel journal: "It should be distinctly known by those who favor the cause of woman, that a social reconstruction is involved—that, in the grant-

ing of 'woman suffrage'—to accept the strong language of a distinguished clergyman, who for this reason is opposed thereto—'the knife will be placed at the throat of the present legal marriage-system. Those who would preserve this system inviolate, as the keystone in the arch of social safety, should understand this. That system, it is claimed, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. If the claim be not well-founded, let the allegation be disproved. Let the whole thing be unveiled—all its deformities and all its virtues—all its basest and its highest uses—all the diseases, discordances, agonies, and crimes affecting its victims, and transmitted through inexorable laws to posterity, contrasted with whatever good it may have done, whatever it may be doing, or may hereafter do."

One of this Female-Suffrage party, Ellen Storge by name, writes to the *Woman's Advocate*, published at Dayton, Ohio, to propose the following "reconstructed social platform," which is a fair specimen of the desires of the Woman Reformers:

"1. Let the marriage contract be limited to from one to three years, at the option of the contracting parties.

"2. Discard the erroneous idea that this contract is Divine. Admit that this is but a human transaction, intended to perpetuate the species and produce human happiness.

"3. Make both parties equal. Do not exact special promises or terms from one sex, to its disadvantage and the advantage of the other. Exact pledges

of mutual fidelity and coöperation during continuance of the marital contract; but let love alone. Love is a sensitive, spontaneous outgrowth of the heart, subject to the control of treatment and circumstances rather than formal promises; it is too tender, too sacred, for the public gaze.

"4. Let the marriage contract embrace the contingency of issue, with full and unequivocal provision therefor. If one child, let its custody devolve by written and recorded agreement, void during coverture; if two or more children, the same, or division by such agreement, provided that the party refusing to renew the expired contract at the instance of the other party, or the offender in case of premature annulment, shall be compelled to maintain the offspring and be the custodian thereof, at the option of the opposite party.

"5. Enact just laws for the determination of all such contingencies as might arise under this new order of things. Make them applicable only to those now unmarried. Let there be no *ex post facto* taint about the matter. During coverture, as also in the event of non-renewal of the contract, let each party control its own finances. Of that they shall have together amassed, let there be an equal division."

These changes, Ellen Storge claims, will ennoble marriage. The reader may form his own opinion; but, supposing him to be a man of average feeling, we simply ask how he would like to see his own home reconstructed on such principles?

The danger can be met, and it ought to be met.

Those who value public and private morality, those who value domestic purity and happiness, those who value Christianity, those who value simple decency, should set their faces sternly against any and all such persons, whether they come as individuals or as organized parties, whether such individuals are nominally ministers of the gospel, or avowed Free Lovers, and whether such parties advocate Woman Suffrage, or any other kindred "ism." It will require but a cursory glance to find that the Woman-Suffrage party, the Free-Love party, the Spiritualist party, the Infidel party, are all one and the same organization. It is therefore a political and religious duty with every man to oppose any and all these organizations. The triumph of one means the triumph of all. All admit that the marriage relation is the first as well as the strongest obstacle in their way, and all unite in making it the object of their first attack. The common bond which unites them is their abominable desire to give free rein to their licentiousness; which is impossible as long as society holds to its present sense of morality. The inauguration of the era of Free Love for which they are working so energetically would give them the liberty they desire. Let us look to it that they do not succeed.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A RECENT number of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, a journal published in the City of New York, makes the following candid confession with respect to the real objects of the Woman Suffrage Party. It is so important an admission, and covers the whole ground so well, that I have decided to append it here, in support of what I have already urged in these pages:

"Whatever may be said to the contrary by the advocates of woman's rights, the true tendency and ultimate end of that movement is to very materially change, if not entirely destroy, the present marriage system. Devotion to any one pursuit for any considerable time implies an understanding of its principles and purposes. This being as true of reform as of any other occupation, such an assertion as the above is unnecessary to the leaders in that work or to those actively engaged in it. They *know* it; although many of them choose for politic reasons to deny the fact. * * * * But that the most prominent and intelligent leaders know this fact and ignore it, I assert and intend to prove. * * * * Who ever heard any one connected with any woman suffrage advocate make

a speech on the subject—and all of them have made many—who did not denounce and deplore the unhappy condition of married women? Indeed, since the suffrage agitation first began, what instance of a husband's tyranny or brutality ever became known that was not used as an additional argument for woman's suffrage? Is there no significance to be found in such facts as these—no refutation of subsequent denials? When brought to bay with these questions, the reply is, that suffrage is the remedy. When women can legislate, they will so amend the laws that woman shall be made man's equal; and, being his equal, she will be placed beyond his control, and beyond his oppression. Now, all that sounds very plausible to the uninitiated. But how is legislation to remedy the wrongs growing out of a certain condition, if the condition itself is not to be interfered with? Answer that, oh ye savans! * * * Depend upon it, we have begun at the wrong end of the snarl; and it is labor lost to work for woman's rights until she has the right to herself; and she can never possess that right until the marriage mummery which gives her to man is abolished. When that intrepid little pioneer sheet, named the *Revolution*, was first launched upon the journalistic wave of this city, it was earnest and firm in its intention to help the work of social regeneration in the right way, the right way being the honest straight-forward one of announcing the principle and the end in view, and working always on that principle, and toward that end. The *Revolution* discussed marriage and its kindred evil, fearlessly for a

time. Soon, however, it began to grow conservative, and continued growing in that direction until it became a sort of mongrel. Thence it became an orthodox truckler of the weakest type, and then, at last, it blazoned forth with this ridiculous motto: 'Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder!' Thus were marked the three stages of its moral decline. As was natural, nothing could be expected for such an apostate to its professed faith but certain death. Just here, I should like to ask how it is known 'whom God hath joined together?' In the absence of any direct communication from God to the contrary, are not the feelings of the parties themselves toward each other the best suggestions for their actions? It seems to me about time that these self-constituted deputies of God Almighty were compelled by their victims either to relinquish their claims to divine authority, or else to prove beyond peradventure that they are the 'elect' and 'chosen' for regulating the relation of the sexes, and pronouncing upon marriage, by producing credentials from headquarters to that effect. * * * * Furthermore, I wish some 'lightning calculator,' or something, would find out the exact state of civilization needed to do away with that religious cant that first binds two antagonistic natures together as man and wife, and then compels them to a life-long fight, in—'the name of God!' * * * How did the idea first become prevalent that woman's rights meant the abolition of marriage, unless embodied in the question? Or, to be more explicit: if a proposition did not involve certain results, would

the results ever suggest themselves in connection with the proposition? That such is the prevailing opinion among all classes, no intelligent person will attempt to deny; and it is because of this that the suffrage movement proper 'hangs fire,' so to speak. It has reached that point in its progress where its tendencies are generally divined, and nearly every one engaged in the work becomes suddenly silent or judiciously conservative, for the sole reason that every body fears to be first to touch the subject which lies nearest every body's heart. * * * No retrograde movement is possible in the realm of thought. That the work is suspended, I admit, and for this reason: the workers on that branch of the social question have reached the end of their conservative line. There is nothing more for them to do; and the whole suffrage movement is in abeyance, waiting to be taken up where they have ended, and that is at exactly the point where the suffrage question ends, and the marriage question begins.

SARAH F. NORTON.

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Ellis, John B.

Free love and its votaries; or, American socialism unmasked. Being an historical and descriptive account of the rise and progress of the various free love associations in the United States ... By Dr. John B. Ellis ... New York, Cincinnati, United States publishing company; [etc., etc., 1870]

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